

Beyond Medieval Europe

NOMADS AND NATIVES BEYOND THE DANUBE AND THE BLACK SEA 700–900 CE

By
SERGIU MUSTEAȚĂ

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**NOMADS AND NATIVES BEYOND THE DANUBE
AND THE BLACK SEA: 700–900 CE**

BEYOND MEDIEVAL EUROPE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAC	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Cracovia, Polonia, I, 1958, <i>sqq.</i>
AAH	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapesta, Hungary, I 1951, <i>sqq.</i>
AARMSI	Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, București.
AB	Analele Banatului. Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara, Romania, I (1981)—Serie Nouă, Arheologie-Istorie, I, 1991, <i>sqq.</i>
ABr	Analele Brăilei, Muzeul Brăilei, Romania, I, 1929–XII, 1940, S.N., I, 1994, <i>sqq.</i>
ACTA	Acta, Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sf. Gheorghe, Romania, I 1995, <i>sqq.</i>
AD	Analele Dobrogei, Constanța, Romania, S.N., I, 1995, <i>sqq.</i>
ADU	Archeologični Doslidženija na Ukraini, Kiev, Ukraine, I, 1967, <i>sqq.</i>
AE	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapesta, Hungary, I, 1866, <i>sqq.</i>
AH	Archaeologia Hungarica, Budapesta, Hungary (serie monografii), 1–3, 1926–1928.
AHNMNH	Annales historico-naturales Musei nationalis hungarici, Budapesta.
AI	Archaeologia Iugoslavica, Belgrad, I, 1954, <i>sqq.</i>
AIA AȘU	Arhiva Institutului de Arheologie al Academiei de Științe a Ucrainei, Kiev.
AIA RM	Arhiva Institutului de Arheologie din Republica Moldova, Chișinău, Moldova.
AIIA “A.D. Xenopol”	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie “A.D.Xenopol,” Iași, România, I, 1964, <i>sqq.</i>
AIIC	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj, România, I–II, 1958–1959, <i>sqq.</i>
AIM	Archeologičeskie Issledovanija v Moldavii, Kișinev, 1968–1969 (1972)–1986 (1992).
AISPDPM	Archeologičeskie Issledovanija Srednevekovych Pamjatnikov Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo Meždureč’ja, Kișinev.
AIU	Archeologičeskie Issledovanija na Ukraine, Kiev, Ukraine, I (1967)–IV (1972).
AKM	Archeologičeskaja Karta Moldavii, Kișinev, 1 (1973)–8 (1976).
Aluta	Aluta. Anuarul Muzeului Județean Covasna, Sf. Gheorghe, Romania, I, 1969, <i>sqq.</i>

- AM** Arheologia Moldovei. Academia Română, Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie Iași, București, Romania, I, 1961, *sqq.*
- AMIAP** Anuarul Muzeului de Istorie și Arheologie Prahova, Ploiești, Romania, I (9), 1991, *sqq.*
- AMM** Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis. Anuarul Muzeului Județean “Ștefan cel Mare,” Vaslui, Romania, I, 1979, *sqq.*
- AMN** Acta Musei Napocensis. Publicația Muzeului de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, I, 1964, *sqq.*
- AMNIM** Anuarul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău, Moldova, I (1992), II (1995), din 1995 Tyragetia, III, *sqq.*
- AMP** Acta Musei Porolissensis. Anuarul Muzeului de Istorie și Artă Zalău, Romania, I, 1977, *sqq.*
- AMV** Acta Musei Varnaensis, Varna, Bulgaria, I, 2000, *sqq.*
- Analele ANTIM** Analele Asociației Naționale a Tinerilor Istoricilor din Moldova, Chișinău, Moldova, I, 2000, *sqq.*
- Angustia** Angustia. Revista Muzeului Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sf. Gheorghe, Romania, I, 1996, *sqq.*
- AnH** Anthropologia Hungarica, Budapesta, Hungary.
- ANSMN** The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes, 1–33, 1946–1988.
- Antaeus** Antaeus, Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapesta, I, 1958, *sqq.*
- AO** Archeologičeskie Otkrytija, Moscova, Rusia (URSS), I–II, 1949, *sqq.*
- AOLT** Arhivele Olteniei. Academia Română, Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane “C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor” Craiova, Romania, S.N. I, 1981, *sqq.*
- AP** Archaeologia Polona, Varșovia, Polonia, I, 1958, *sqq.*
- AP URSR** Archeologični Pam’jatki URSR, Kiev, Ukraine, I–II (1949)–XIII (1963).
- APOO** Archeologičeskie pamjatniki Odesskoj oblasti (spravočnik), Odessa, Ukraine.
- Apulum** Apulum, Acta Mvsei Apvlensis, Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia, Romania, I, 1939–1942, *sqq.*
- AR** Archeologické Rozhledy, Praga, Cehia.
- AR** Archeologické Rozhledy, Academia de Științe a Cehoslovaciei, Praga, Cehia, I, 1949, *sqq.*
- Arch** Archeologija, Institutul și Muzeul de Arheologie a Academiei de Științe din Bulgaria, Sofia, I, 1959, *sqq.*
- Archeologija** Archeologija, Institutul de Arheologie al Academiei de Științe din Ukraine, Kiev, I, 1947, *sqq.*

Archeologija SSSR	Archeologija SSSR, Moscova, URSS, 1–5 (1964)–1–27 (1983).
ArchP	Arheološki Pregled, Belgrad, Serbia, I, 1959, <i>sqq.</i>
Argesis	Argesis. Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Județean Argeș, Pitești, Romania, <i>sqq.</i>
ArhB	Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia, Bulgaria.
Arhiva MC	Baza de date Monumentele Arheologice din Republica Moldova, Arhiva Ministerului Culturii al Republicii Moldova.
ArhM	Arheologie Medievală, Romania, I, 1996, <i>sqq.</i>
AS	Arheologičeskij Sbornik. Gosudarstvennyj Ermitaž, Sankt-Petersburg (Leningrad), I, 1959, <i>sqq.</i>
AȘUI	Analele Științifice ale Universității “Al. I. Cuza” din Iași, Romania.
ATS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Universitatea “Lucian Blaga” Sibiu, Institutul pentru cercetarea și valorificarea patrimoniului cultural transilvănean în context european, Romania, I, 2002, <i>sqq.</i>
AUO SIA	Analele Universității Oradea, Seria Istorie-Arheologie, Oradea, Romania.
AV	Arheološki Vestnik, Acta Archaeologica, Institutul de Arheologie, Academia de Științe a Sloveniei, Ljubljana, I, 1950, <i>sqq.</i>
Balcanoslavica	Balcanoslavica, 1, 1971.
Balkania	Balkania, I, 1937.
Banatica	Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița, Romania, I, 1971, <i>sqq.</i>
BASEE	Bulletin d'Archéologie Sud-Est Européenne, București, Romania.
BAȘRSSM	Buletinul Academiei de Științe al RSS Moldovenești, Chișinău.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, București, România, I, (1908)–XLI (1972), din 1970, XXXIX, Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice.
BCTS	Bulletin of the Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, I, 1991, <i>sqq.</i>
BHAB	Biblioteca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica, Timișoara, Romania.
BHR	Biblioteca Historia Romaniae, București, Romania, I (1964)–XXVII (1970).
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies.
BMI	Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București, Romania, I, 1971, <i>sqq.</i>
BR	Budapest Régiségei, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, I, 1889, <i>sqq.</i>

BSNR	Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București, I (1904)–XXXVI (1942).
BSRR	Buletinul Societății Regale Române, București, Romania.
Buridava	Buridava. Studii și Materiale, Muzeul județean Vâlcea, Romania.
BV	Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, München, Germania.
Byzantinobulgarica	Byzantinobulgarica. Institutul de Istorie, Academia de Științe, Bulgaria, I, 1961, <i>sqq.</i>
Byzantinoslavica	Byzantinoslavica, Praga, Cehia, I, 1929, <i>sqq.</i>
Byzantion	Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Etudes Byzantines, I, 1924, <i>sqq.</i>
CA	Cercetări Arheologice, Muzeul Național de Istorie, București, Romania, I, 1975, <i>sqq.</i>
CAB	Cercetări Arheologice în București, Romania, I, 1963.
Carpica	Carpica, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Bacău, Romania, I, 1968, <i>sqq.</i>
CCDJ	Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călărași, Romania, I, 1985, <i>sqq.</i>
CH	Crania Hungarica, Budapesta, Hungary.
CI	Cercetări istorice, București, Romania.
CLIO	Clio. Almanah Istoric, Chișinău, Moldova, I, 1998.
CMM	Casopis Moravského Musca. Acta Musei Moraviae.
CN	Cercetări Numismatice, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București, I, 1978, <i>sqq.</i>
CNA	Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică, București, Romania, I (1920)–XX (1945).
Corviniana	Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis, Muzeul Castelul Corvineștilor, Hunedoara, Romania, I, 1995, <i>sqq.</i>
Crisia	Crisia, Oradea, Romania, I, 1971, <i>sqq.</i>
Crișana	Crișana Antiqua et Mediaevalia, Universitatea din Oradea, România, I, 2000, <i>sqq.</i>
Cugetul	Cugetul, Chișinău, Moldova.
Cumidava	Cumidava, Muzeul Județean Brașov, România, I, 1967, <i>sqq.</i>
Dacia N.S.	Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, București, I, (1924)–XII (1948). Nouvelle Série: Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București, Romania, I, 1957, <i>sqq.</i>
Danubius	Danubius, Muzeul Județean de Istorie Galați, Romania, I, 1967, <i>sqq.</i>
DB	Drevnosti Bospopra, Meždunarodnyj ežegodnik po istorii, arheologii, epigrafike, numizmatike i filologii Bospora Kimerijskogo, Institut Arheologii Rosijskoj Akademii Nauk, Moscova, 1, 1997, <i>sqq.</i>
DEEC	Dobrudža. Études Éthno-culturelles, Sofia, Bulgaria.

DJZ	Drevnosti Iugo-Zapada SSSR, Chişinău, RSSM.
DKM	Drevnjaja Kul'tura Moldavii, Chişinău, Moldova, 1974.
Dnestr	Dniestr, Kişinev, Moldova.
Dobrudja	Dobrudja. Sbornik, Istoriceski Muzei v Dobric i v Silistra, Varna, Muzei, Bulgaria, I, 1981, <i>sqq.</i>
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Washington, DC, USA, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC, Columbia County, I, 1941, <i>sqq.</i>
DPM	Dalekoe Proşloe Moldavii, Kişinev, 1969.
DR	Destin Românesc, Chişinău-Bucureşti.
Drobeta	Drobeta, Muzeul Regiunii Porţilor de Fier, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Romania, I, 1974, <i>sqq.</i>
EAIVR	Enciclopedia Arheologiei şi Istoriei Vechi a României, Bucureşti.
EAZ	Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift, Berlin, Germania, I, 1960, <i>sqq.</i>
EB	Études Balkaniques, Sofia, Bulgaria, I, 1964, <i>sqq.</i>
EBPB	Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines, Bucureşti, Romania I (1979)–III (1997).
EN	Ephemeris Napocensis, Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie şi Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, I, 1991, <i>sqq.</i>
ERGA	Ergänzungsbande zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York.
FS	Frühmittelalterliche Studien.
FVL	Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde, Rumänische Akademie, Institut für Gesellschaftlich-Humanistische Fprschungen Hermannstadt, Sibiu, I, 1958, <i>sqq.</i>
GPSKV	Graha za proučavanje spomenika kulture Vojvodine, Novi Sad, Serbia.
GSAD	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva, Beograd, Serbia, I, 1985, <i>sqq.</i>
HBN	Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik, Hamburg, Germania.
Hierasus	Hierasus, Anuarul Muzeului Judeţean Botoşani, Romania, I, 1978, <i>sqq.</i>
Historca	Historca, Centrul de Ştiinţe Sociale din Craiova, Romania, I, 1970.
HYALM	Helsingin yliopiston arkeologian laitospiston, Helsinki, Finlanda.
Ialomiţa	Ialomiţa, Materiale de istorie agrară a României, Muzeul Judeţean Ialomiţa, Slobozia, Romania.
INMV	Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej—Varna, Bulgaria, I, 1965, <i>sqq.</i>
Interacademica	Interacademica, Bucureşti, Romania, I, 2000, <i>sqq.</i>
IP	Istoričeski Pregled, Belgrad, I, 1959, <i>sqq.</i>

Istros	Istros, Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Romania, I, 1934, S.N., I, 1980, <i>sqq.</i>
ITSR	Istorie și Tradiție în Spațiul Românesc, București, Romania, I, 1995, <i>sqq.</i>
IAN MSSR	Izvestija Akademii Nauk MSSR, Serija Obščestvennyh nauk, Kișinev, (1969)–(1991).
IMF AN SSSR	Izvestija Moldavskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR, Kișinev.
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology, An International Journal, 1, 1988, <i>sqq.</i>
Karpatika	Karpatika, Uțgorod, Ukraine.
KSIA	Kratkie Soobščeniija Instituta Archeologii AN SSSR, Moskva, URSS, 1 (1940)–185 (1972).
KSIIMK	Kratkie Soobščeniija Instituta Istории Material'noj Kul'tury Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva, I, 1939 <i>sqq.</i>
KSOAM	Kratkie Soobščeniija Odesskogo Archeologičeskogo Muzeja, Odessa, Ukraine, 1961 (1963)–1963 (1965).
Litua	Litua. Studii și Cercetări, Complexul muzeal al județului Gorj, Tîrgu-Jiu, Romania, I, 1978, <i>sqq.</i>
MA	Memoria Antiquitatis, Acta Mvsei Petrodavensis, Revista Muzeului de Istorie Piatra-Neamț, Romania, I, 1969, <i>sqq.</i>
MAIET	Materialy po Arheologii, Istории i Etnografii Tavrii, Simferopol', Ukraine, I, 1990, <i>sqq.</i>
MAPP	Materiali z Archeologii Pivničnogo Pričernomor'ja, Odessa, Ukraine.
Marisia	Marisia, Studii și Materiale, Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu-Mureș, Romania, I, 1965, <i>sqq.</i>
Marmatia	Marmatia, Muzeul județean Maramureș, Baia Mare, Romania, I, 1969, V–VI (1979–1981).
MASP	Materialy po Archeologii Severnogo Pričernomor'ja, Odessa, Ukraine, I (1957)–IX (1983).
MIA	Materialy i Issledovanija po Archeologii SSSR, Moscova-Leningrad, URSS. I (1940)–187 (1972).
MIAE MSSR	Materialy i Issledovanija po Archeologii i Etnographii MSSR, Kișinev.
MI	Magazin Istoric, București, Romania, I, 1967, <i>sqq.</i>
MIA Ju-Z	Materialy i Issledovanija po Archeologii Jugo-Zapada SSSR, Moscova, URSS.
MN	Muzeul Național, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București, I, 1974, <i>sqq.</i>
MO	Mitropolia Olteniei, România.
Mousaios	Mousaios. Buletin Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău, Romania, I (Studii și cercetări de istorie Buzoiană), Mousaios—II, 1978, <i>sqq.</i>

MP	Muzeul din Pitești. Studii și comunicări. Istorie-științele naturii, Romania, I, 1968.
MPK	Muzei i Pamjatnici na Kul'turata, Sofia, Bulgaria.
MSM	Marisia. Studii și Materiale, Târgu-Mureș, Romania; I, 1965, <i>sqq.</i>
MSS	Memoriile Secțiilor Științifice, București, Romania.
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapesta, Hungary.
OIKM	E.A. Rikman, Rafalovič, I.A., I.G. Hîncu, <i>Očerki istorii kul'tury Moldavii (II–XIV vv.)</i> , Kișinev, 1971.
Oltenia	Oltenia. Studii și comunicări, Muzeul Olteniei, Craiova, Romania.
OV	Orheiul Vechi, Buletin Istorico-Arheologic, Chișinău, Moldova, I, 1998.
PB	Patrimonium Banaticum, Direcția pentru Cultură, Culte și Patrimoniul Cultural Național al Județului Timiș, Timișoara, Romania, I, 2002, <i>sqq.</i>
Peuce	Peuce, Studii și cercetări de istorie și arheologie, Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea, Romania, I, 1971, <i>sqq.</i>
Pontica	Pontica, Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța, Romania, I, II, 1968, 1969 (Pontice), III, 1970, <i>sqq.</i>
Potaisa	Potaisa, Studii și comunicări, Turda, Romania, I, 1978, <i>sqq.</i>
RA S.N.	Revista Arheologică, Chișinău, Moldova, I (1993), II (1998) din 2005 S.N., nr. 1, <i>sqq.</i>
RB	Revista Bistriței, Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, România, File de istorie, I, (1971)–VI (1989), VII, 1993, <i>sqq.</i>
RESEE	Revue des Etudes sud-est européennes, Editions de l'Académie Roumaine, I, 1963, <i>sqq.</i>
RGR	Revista Geografică Română, București, Romania.
RI	Revista de Istorie, București, Romania.
RIM	Revista de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău.
Rist	Revista istorică, București, Romania, S.N., 1990, <i>sqq.</i>
RMMI	Revista muzeelor și monumentelor istorice, București, Romania.
RMV (RVM)	Rad Vojvođanskich Muzeja, Novi Sad, Serbia, 1, 1952–35, 1993. Rad Muzeja Vojvodine, Novi Sad, Serbia 36, 1994, <i>sqq.</i>
RRH	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, București, Romania, I, 1962, <i>sqq.</i>
SA	Sovetskaja Archeologija, Moscova, I (1936)–XXIX–XXX (1959), din 1957 apare trimestrial—1 (1992), începând cu nr. 2, 1992—Rosijskaja Archeologija, <i>sqq.</i>
SAA	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Universitatea "Al.I. Cuza," Iași, I 1983 <i>sqq.</i>
SAAw	Studien zur Archäologie der Awaren, Innsbruck, Austria.

SAB	Studia Archaeologica Brunensia, Sborník Prací Filozofické Fakulty Brněnské Univerzity, Masarykova Univerzita v Brně, Slovacia, I, 1960, <i>sqq.</i>
SAI	Archeologija SSSR, Svod Archeologičeskich Istočnikov, Moscova, URSS.
SAnt	Slavia Antiqua, Poznań, Polonia, I, 1954, <i>sqq.</i>
Sargetia	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Buletinul Muzeului județean Hunedoara, Deva, Romania, I, 1937, <i>sqq.</i>
SB	Studia Balcanica, Sofia, Bulgaria, I, 1970, <i>sqq.</i>
SC	Studii și comunicări. Arheologie-Istorie, Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu, Romania, I, 1956, <i>sqq.</i>
SCA	Studii și Cercetări Antropologice, Academia Română, București.
SCEI	Studi și Comunică de Etnografie-Istorie, Muzeul județean de Etnografie și istorie locală, Caransebeș, România, I, 1975, <i>sqq.</i>
SCIM	Studii și cercetări de istorie medie, București, I, 1950.
SCIV (A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche, București, Romania, I, 1950, <i>sqq.</i> (since 1974 Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie).
SCN	Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică, București, Romania, I, 1957, <i>sqq.</i>
SCȘ	Studii și Cercetări Științifice, Cluj, Romania, I (1950)—VIII (1957).
SE	Sovetskaja Etnographija, Miskva, URSS.
SIB	Studii de Istorie a Banatului, Timișoara, Romania.
SJ	Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch.
SIAn	Slavia Antiqua, Poznań, Polonia, I, 1948, <i>sqq.</i>
SIArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Archeologický Ústav Sav, Revista Institutului de Arheologie al Academiei Slovace de Științe din Nitra, Slovacia, I, 1953, <i>sqq.</i>
SlovNum	Slovenská numizmatika, Slovenská Akadémia Vied, Bratislava, Slovenia, I, 1970, <i>sqq.</i>
SM	Satu Mare, Studii și Comunicări, Muzeul Județean Satu Mare, Romania, I, 1969, <i>sqq.</i>
SMIM	Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie, Institutul de Istorie "Nicolae Iorga," Romania.
SMPTIP	Studii și Materiale privitoare la trecutul istoric al jud. Prahova, Ploiești, România, I, 1968.
SMTM	Studii și Materiale. Muzeul Regional Tg. Mureș, Romania, I, 1965.
SN	Sovetskaja Nauka, Moscova, URSS.
SP	Severnoe Pričernomor'e, Materialy po arheologii, Kiev, Ukraine.

SPDPM	Srednevekoveye Pam'jatniki Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo Meždureč'ja, Kišinev, Moldova.
SPIK	Svod pamjatnikov istorii i kul'tury Moldavskoj SSR. Severnaja zona. Maket, Kišinev, RSSM.
SRMUM	Sbornik Rabot Molodyh Učennyh Moldavii, Kišinev.
SS	Sovetskoe Slavjanovedenie, Moscova, URSS.
ST	Sympozia Thracologica, București, Romania.
StArch	Studia Archaeologica, A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged, I, 1995, <i>sqq.</i>
Stratum Plus	Stratum Plus, Vysšaja antropologičeskaja škola, Sankt-Petersburg—Chișinău, I, 1997, <i>sqq.</i>
StSach	Studien zur Sachsenforschung, Hildesheim, Germania, I, 1979, <i>sqq.</i>
Studii	Studii, Revistă de știință și filosofie, București, Romania, I, 1949.
SUBB	Studia Universitas Babeș-Bolyai, Series Historia, Cluj-Napoca, I, 1956, <i>sqq.</i>
Suceava	Suceava, Studii și Materiale—Istorie—I,II,III, 1969, 1971, 1973; Suceava-Anuarul Muzeului Județean—IV, V, VI–VII, VIII, IX, X, XI–XII, XIII–XIV, XV, XVI, 1977–1989; Suceava-Anuarul Muzeului Bucovinei—XVII–XVIII–XIX, 1990–1991–1992, XX, 1993; Suceava-Anuarul Muzeului Național al Bucovinei—XXI, 1994, <i>sqq.</i>
TD	Thraco-Dacica, București, Romania, I (1976)—IX (1988), S.N., I, (1989) <i>sqq.</i>
TD SPIPI	TD SPIPI, Moscova, USSR.
TGE	Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža, Sankt-Petersburg, Russia.
TGIKM	Trudy GIKM, Moscova, URSS.
TGIM	Trudy GIM, Moscova, Rusia (URSS), I, 1926, <i>sqq.</i>
Tibiscus	Tibiscus. Istorie-Arheologie, Muzeului Banatului Timișoara, Romania, I (1970)–V (1979).
TOR	Tidskrift för arkeologi—Journal of Archaeology, Uppsala, Suedia, 1, 1948, <i>sqq.</i>
TR	Transylvanian Review, Cluj-Napoca, Romania.
Tyragetia	Tyragetia, Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău, Moldova, III, 1996 <i>sqq.</i>
UZ IIJaL MF	
AN SSSR	Učennye Zapiski II JaL MF AN SSSR, Moscova.
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapesta, Hungary, I, 1986, <i>sqq.</i>
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinsku, Croatia.

Valachica	Valachica, Studii și Materiale de Istorie și Istorie a Culturii, Muzeul Județean Dâmbovița, Târgoviște, România, I, 1969, <i>sqq.</i>
VAMZ	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Croatia.
VCB	Visnik Centru bulovinoznavstva, Chernivtsi, Ukraine, I, 1993, <i>sqq.</i>
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moscova, Rusia (URSS), I, 1937, <i>sqq.</i>
VSC	Vrancea. Studii și Comunicări, Focșani, Romania, I, 1978, <i>sqq.</i>
VV	Vizantijskij vremennik, Institut vseobščej istorie, Akademia Nauk Rossii, I, 1947, <i>sqq.</i>
VAN SSSR	Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moscova, URSS.
WA	Wiadomości Archeologiczne, Bulletin Archéologique Polonais, Varșovia, I, 1873, <i>sqq.</i>
Zargidava	Zargidava, Revistă de Istorie, Bacău, Romania.
Ziridava	Ziridava, Studii și Cercetări, Muzeul județean Arad, Romania, I, 1967, <i>sqq.</i>
ZNMB	Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja u Beogradu, Serbia, I, 1956/57, <i>sqq.</i>
ZOAO	Zapiski Odesskogo Archeologičeskogo Obščestva, Odessa, Ukraine, I, 1960.
ZOOID	Zapiski Odesskogo Obščestva Istorii i Drevnostej, Odessa, Ukraine.
ZRVI	Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta, Beograd, I, 1960, <i>sqq.</i>

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Sergiu Musteață

INTRODUCTION

THE EARLY MIDDLE Ages are of special importance for European history, as this period marks the genesis of many peoples, of state formation, and of the affirmation of feudal relations. This work spans almost two centuries, from the end of the seventh until the late ninth century. During this time a series of political, military, economic, social, and religious transformations took place. The lower chronological limit is marked by the migration of the Bulgars south of the Danube (680/681), and the upper limit coincides with the movement of the Hungarians from the Eastern European steppes to the Carpathian Basin (895/896). This span includes significant events in the history of Central and Southeastern Europe. The Avar Kaganate controlled not only the Pannonian Steppe but also some regions east of the Tisza up to the Western Carpathians, which has been proven by the Avar graves and cemeteries identified in these areas. The Bulgarians' settlement south of the Danube and the creation of a new political power changed political realities in the region and directly contributed to the distancing of relations between Byzantium and the North-Danube regions. The situation in the ninth century directly affected the so-called political silence in the Carpathian-Danubian regions ([Map 1](#)). Political reshuffling in the North-Danube areas began with the liquidation of Avar power and was followed by the division of spheres of influence between the Franks, the Moravians, and the Bulgarians. The appearance of the Hungarians at the mouth of the Danube and their conflicts with the powers and populations in the region led to the establishment of their control over the Pannonian Steppe and some other regions east of the Tisza in the late ninth century and beginning of the tenth century.

Geographical Boundaries. The appearance and evolution of human beings was and is closely linked to natural factors, but human interactions with the natural environment have still only been modestly investigated.¹ Therefore, during historical research, it is necessary to know the peculiarities of the geographical environment (relief, hydrography, climate, vegetation, etc.) and their connections with the anthropic factor.²

The research is geographically bounded by natural landmarks, such as the Tisza, Danube, and Dniester Rivers to the west, east and south, to the southeast by the Black Sea coast, and to the north by the northern Bukovina region ([Map 1](#)). This area is known in the literature as the *Carpathian-Danubian region*, as the *Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic*

¹ V. Cucu, *Geografia populației și așezărilor umane*, 2nd ed. (București, 1981); F. Röthlisberger, *1000 Jahre Gletschergeschichte der Erde* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1986); M. G. Bell and M. J. C. Walker, *Late Quaternary Environmental Changes: Physical and Human Perspectives* (London: Longman, 1992); T. H. Van Andel, *New Views on an Old Planet. A History of Global Change*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

² K. W. Butzer, *Archaeology as Human Ecology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); J. C. Drăgan and Șt. Airinei, *Geoclimate and History* (Roma: Nagard, 1987); C. Evans and T. O'Connor, *Environmental Archaeology: Principles and Methods* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999).

space or as the *northern region of the Lower Danube*. At the same time, the space included in this work is not separated from neighbouring territories, especially since the regions to the east of the Carpathians fall within the context of the North-Pontic and East-European steppes, while those from the west fall within the extensive areas of the Pannonian Steppe.

The Carpathian-Danubian space is a macro-territorial system, the result of a long paleogeographical evolution, and a component part of the European continent, having Central and East-European, Balkan and Pontic interferences.³ In this part of Europe, several forms of reliefs conjoin, such as seashores, plains, plateaus, hills, and depressions, and these constitute the morphological structural steps of the area (mountains, hills and plateaus, and plains, including coastal platforms). Thus, the geographical environment in the north of the Lower Danube is quite varied and complex.⁴ The geo-system of the region is thus a harmonious unity of geological, relief, hydrographical network, socio-economic, and human-ordered elements (Map 1).

The landscape is determined by the geological structure of the region, the result of a continuous development process that influenced the formation of other elements of the environment (the hydrography, soils, flora and fauna, human settlements, economy etc.). The component parts of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic geographical macro-system are proportional, symmetrical, and concentrically disposed towards the Carpathians. From the territorial point of view, we can distinguish seventeen geographical regions: the Eastern Carpathians, the Curvature Carpathians, the Southern Carpathians, the Banat Mountains and the Western Carpathian Mountains, the Transylvanian Plateau (Depression), the sub-Carpathians, the Hills of Banat, the Hills of Crişana and Sylvania, the Moldovan Plateau, the Getic Plateau, the Mehedinţi Plateau, the Dobrogea Plateau, the Western Plain, the Romanian Plain, the Delta, and the coastal platform (Map 1).⁵ The diversity of the relief directly influences human activities carried on its surface.

The Carpathian Mountains form the backbone of a geographical macro-system. The Carpathians are part of the longest mountain chain in Europe⁶ and are made up of two areas, the Beskid and the Danube-Pontic. They form a mountain range 1,500 km long and up to 180 km wide. The Carpathians are mountains of medium and low height, with an average height of 840 m, while peaks of over 2,000 m are rare and those exceeding 2,500 m are exceedingly rare. The average altitude oscillates in the east between 1,100 m and 1,300 m, 1,500–1,700 m in the south, and in the west between 800 m and 1,000 m. The circular shape of the Carpathians, enclosing the Transylvanian Depression, imposed a circular radial structure on the Carpathian-Danubian territory that influenced

3 V. Dumitrescu, "Poziția geografică," *Geografia României* 1 (1983): 21–23.

4 G. Posea, *Geografia fizică a României*, pt. 1, *Date generale. Poziție geografică. Relief* (Bucureşti, 2003), 7.

5 Posea, *Geografia fizică*, 28, 32.

6 I. Ioniță, "Masivul Carpatic—un reper geografic de rezonanță în istoria Europei (mileniul I d. Hr.)," in *Studia Historica et Archaeologica in Honorem Magistrae D. Benea*, ed. M. Crînguş, S. Regep-Vlascici, and A. Ştefănescu (Timişoara, 2004), 217.

the organization of the socio-political and economic system of the region throughout its history. Thus, around the Carpathians, there is a large staircase of plateaus and plains, bounded by the medium quaternary of three rivers: the Tisza, the Danube, and the Dniester. The Carpathian passes and passages are not major forms of relief, but by facilitating circulation with the Carpathian regions they constitute an important feature of the evolution of habitats in the region.⁷ The highlands include forested hills, depressions, and valleys that were deforested and cultivated, with some maintaining meadows and patches of woods. The hills, owing to fertile soils, grasslands, forest, and fauna resources, have been appreciated by the people factor since ancient times. From a strategic point of view the hills used to be a defensive zone, located between the mountain and the steppe regions; such as, for example, in the case of the Eastern Carpathians and the Ponto-Caspian steppes.⁸ The plains are the lowest land area, with little or no slope. These plains stretch from the Trotuş and Delta to the Oaş Mountains, with a small break at the Danube Gorge. The Romanian Plain is linked with the Southern and Curvature Carpathians bounded by the Lower Danube Plain in the south and divided into the Gaetic Plain and the Eastern Plain (of Bugeac). In the north, the maximum elevation is approximately 250 m, and the average elevation of the Northern Plain is approximately 200 m, reduced to the south and east to a mere 10 m and 5 m respectively. The Tisza Plain (the Western Lowland, or Banat-Crisana), a component part of the Pannonian Basin, is influenced by the Western Mountains, the Banat Mountains, and the Tisza River.⁹ The hydrographical network of the region is made up of rivers, lakes of various types, ground-waters, and the Black Sea. Most rivers originate in the Carpathian Mountains, collect in the Danube, and flow to the Black Sea, thus forming the Carpathian-Danubian network.¹⁰ The rivers that cross the Carpathian-Danubian basin are grouped into several hydrographical networks: intra-Carpathian, extra-Carpathian, and trans-Carpathian. They have their sources mostly in the Carpathian and sub-Carpathian regions. The number of lakes in this area is quite large and they have various origins: ice, volcanoes, natural dams, or human activity. At the same time, we can distinguish several categories of natural lakes: mountainous, hill, plateau, plains, and sea.

The climate is one of the geographical factors that has a significant influence on the evolution of the natural and the anthropic environment of each region. The Carpathian-Danubian space is located approximately halfway between the Atlantic side of the continent and the conventional limit with Asia, which provides a temperate continental climate with four clearly marked seasons and a continuous change in the length of day and night. The location of the region at the junction of the western, eastern, northern, and southern climate brings warmer wet air from the west. In the winter, drier, frostier

7 Posea, *Geografia fizică*, 71.

8 L. Bacumenco, "Structuri geospațiale în zona Codrii Orheiului și raporturile lor cu elementul antropic," *AM* 26 (2003): 181.

9 Posea, *Geografia fizică*, 43.

10 M. Botzan, *Apele în viața poporului român* (București, 1984), 20.

air comes from the east and in the summer, hotter and drier air. From the north comes cold and wet air, and from the south, the air brings drought in summer and warm air with rain in the winter.¹¹ The diversity of the landscape, especially that of the Carpathian chain, greatly influences the movement of air masses and thus generates large climatic differences (Map 1).

The problematic of the proposed subject is both pertinent and important, for this project addresses and completes different aspects of the history of the Carpathian-Danubian space in the eighth and the ninth centuries. Over the years it has lost none of its relevance; on the contrary, it has generated new and novel interpretations, visions, and, solutions for a number of issues concerning the lifestyle of the inhabitants to the north of the Lower Danube in the early Middle Ages. In 1978 Dan Gh. Teodor states: “The evolution of civilization in Moldova during the seventh and the ninth centuries was presented in the Romanian literature incompletely, due to the large number of archaeological findings from this era, it remained unpublished for a long time.” From then until today many things have changed, but the problem of publication of archaeological materials remains actual and common to all states.¹²

The proposed issues are currently important, as they are not sufficiently addressed in contemporary historiography. Also, we should note that the geographical area proposed for research, has been the focus of attention from the great powers from the medieval period to the present, which has resulted in a different historical consideration and interpretation of historical and archaeological realities of these regions. The given subject of study, although it began to be intensely studied in the 1950s, still remains relevant and is complemented by new archaeological discoveries. In these circumstances, there is a need for a review and an overview of the history of the Carpathian-Danubian space in the eighth and ninth centuries based on a complex analysis of the historical sources available today. The lack of a work of synthesis covering the major archaeological discoveries on the territories between the Tisza and the Dniester, referring to this time, together with the numerous contradictions in the previous publications have confirmed the importance of what follows; a synthetic treatment regarding the history of the regions to the north of the Lower Danube during the eighth and ninth centuries.¹³

The purpose of this book is to re-examine the history of the Carpathian-Danubian region during the eighth and the ninth centuries. Thus, the central task is to provide an overview on the historical realities to the north of the Lower Danube over two centuries. Writing this book began from the desire to develop a synthetic study through which we will reconstruct the history of the Carpathian-Danubian region during the eighth and ninth centuries based on narrative, archaeological, and numismatic sources. The diversity of issues presented by such a study requires analysing the following topics in

11 Posea, *Geografia fizică*, 19.

12 D. Gh. Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic în veacurile V-XI e.n.* (Iași, 1978), 67.

13 A. Tvauri's contribution could be an example of such work: Andres Tvauri, *The Migration Period, Pre-Viking Age, and Viking Age in Estonia*, *Estonian Archaeology 4* (Tartu: Tartu University Press, 2012).

succession: the historiography of the problem, the particularities of the human habitat, the reconstitution of economic occupations, the establishment of the features of spiritual life, the evolution of social relations, the chronological and ethnic affiliation of discoveries, the reconstitution of the political history of the region, and so on. The achievement of this goal, the objectives, and the proposed plan rely on examination of the composition of the repository of sites and archaeological findings from the Carpathian-Danubian regions during the eighth and ninth centuries. Thus, I will try to point out some issues related to the eighth and the ninth centuries, seeking to contribute thereby to the fixing of an image that would allow for an updated scientific interpretation of the early Middle Ages in the regions to the north of the Lower Danube (Map 1).

The study presents a reconstruction of the socio-economic, ethnic, cultural, and ultimately political history of the aforementioned area in the eighth and ninth centuries based on the analysis of the narrative and archaeological sources known so far. In this book, for the first time, the archaeological remains from the Carpathian-Danubian regions (Banat, Crişana, Maramureş, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, including Bukovina and Bessarabia) are presented as organic unities, which, despite representing inherent parts of a well-defined geographical area over several decades, have previously been dealt with separately, without generalizations performed at the macro-region level (Map 1). Thus, the work fills a substantial gap in the historiography and puts in a new light the historical and the archaeological issues relating to the eighth and ninth centuries.

In terms of technique and methodology, the realization of the work represents a critical and comparative analysis of the narrative, archaeological, and numismatic data regarding the Carpathian-Danubian regions in the eighth and ninth centuries. This work claims a broad and multifaceted analysis of data and historical phenomena in a clearly defined geographical and chronological framework, as well as the application of the methods of critical and comparative analysis of historical sources, statistical, cartographical, stratigraphic, and chronological data. The application of the above-mentioned methods has made it possible to reveal the general and special features of human habitats in the Carpathian-Danubian space during the eighth and ninth centuries.

In the absence of written sources that directly relate to the eighth and the ninth centuries, the main source base used is the results of archaeological investigations, which for decades have accumulated information about the lifestyle of the population in the Carpathian-Danubian space in the given period. Through modern methods of collecting and analysing historical data we have compiled the register of discoveries, comprising the majority of archaeological sites (settlements, hillforts, cemeteries, graves, and funerary findings of uncertain nature), as well as numismatic findings from the proposed area for the investigation chronologically assigned to the eighth and the ninth centuries. The repository was drawn up alphabetically and separately for each country (Romania, Moldova, Serbia, Ukraine, and Hungary), and comprises a total of 2,595 archaeological points (Table 1, Chart 1, Map 2). The obtained data were afterward analysed from the statistical, typological, and cartographical points of view.

The register of archaeological findings is the basis of this work. Recording them in a single database enabled us to perform a typological systematization (settlements,

hillforts, cemeteries, caves, cemeteries, and singular graves), combining the analysis of archaeological materials with the historical synthesis and generalization, while mapping these sites revealed regional groupings of settlements in the eighth and ninth centuries. The mapping of these records was realized with the help of computer programs, based on the exact geographical coordinates of each locality (latitude and longitude). Every point on the map corresponds to a contemporary village. The localities with many archaeological points are collapsed into one single point. In situations where points are part of the different typological categories, they are visible on each map, and in the case of settlements, they have to be combined with the register of discoveries.

Based on published archaeological data we are able to analyse and describe the peculiarities of human habitat (construction typology, economic occupations, rites, and rituals, etc.) in the Carpathian-Danubian in the eighth and ninth centuries. By comparison, I have tried to highlight certain characteristic features of one or another region because then we can discuss issues regarding the cultural and ethnic affiliations of these discoveries.

The importance of the subject lies in the elucidation of some significant and actual problems that have been insufficiently and incompletely researched to date.¹⁴ Different aspects of the material and spiritual life of the inhabitants of the Carpathian-Danubian regions in the eighth and the ninth centuries and their relations with their neighbouring peoples have been analysed successively and in a complex way.

For the first time, the archaeological findings from the Carpathian-Danubian space, including the territories between the Tisza and the Dniester, which are now the component parts of the Republic of Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, Serbia, and Hungary, have been thoroughly analysed (Map 2).

I hope for this study to become a tool in advancing our historical knowledge of the region. The obtained results can be used in further research on the historical development of the territories to the north of the Lower Danube or in producing synthetic studies on the early Middle Ages in Europe.

¹⁴ Șt. Olteanu, *Societatea romanească la cumpănă de milenii (sec. VIII–XI)* (București, 1983); Șt. Olteanu, *Societatea carpato-danubiano-pontică în secolele IV–XI* (București, 1997).

Chapter I

SOURCES

THE BASIC PROBLEM addressed in this chapter will be a critical analysis of the research sources and the historiography of the research problem. Studying the historical sources and the extant historiography will allow us to determine both the volume and the quality of the information currently known, based on which our scientific research on the history of the Carpathian-Danubian space in the eighth and ninth centuries can be realized.

Historical sources are a set of information which constitutes the cultural heritage of mankind. Each work of historical research stems from analysis of the sources from which it can be developed. A separate critical analysis of narrative and archaeological sources and then their collation and dissection will allow us to support some conclusions about the historical realities to the north of the Lower Danube in the eighth and ninth centuries. However, we must consider the lack of internal narrative sources in reference to the history of the Carpathian-Danubian regions in the eighth and ninth centuries, while the number of external narratives is small and their content is often controversial.

Written Sources

In the absence of direct written sources, foreign internal narrative sources occasionally refer to the early medieval histories of the territories to the north of the Lower Danube, often having a very general or even contradictory character. Some Byzantine, Russian, Hungarian, and Oriental sources from the eighth and the ninth centuries describe certain events from the seventh–tenth centuries which have a direct or a tangential connection with either the territories to the north of the Danube or the people who lived in or passed through these areas. The style, the quality of the content, and the veracity of these early medieval sources have attracted the attention of historians for a long time.¹ The most numerous narrative sources on the Carpathian-Danubian regions are Byzantine sources.

The Byzantine Writings

The Byzantine writings regarding the Danube regions in the second half of the first millennium are quite general. If for the sixth–seventh centuries Byzantine reports on the situation in the Lower Danube and with the Empire's confrontations with these tribes

1 N.-Ș. Tanașoca, "Remarques sur les latinismes de l'historiographie byzantine (Ve–Xe s.)," *RESEE* 23 (1985): 241–48; Tanașoca, "L'image Byzantine des Roumains," *RESEE* 34 (1996): 255–63; V. Spinei, "Informații despre vlahi în izvoarele medievale nordice. I," *SCIV* 24 (1973): 57–81; Spinei, "Informații despre vlahi în izvoarele medievale nordice. II," *SCIV* 24 (1973): 259–82; Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI–XIV* (București, 1982); Spinei, *Realități etnice și politice în Moldova Meridională în secolele X–XIII. Români și turanici* (Iași, 1985); A. Madgearu, "Românii în secolul al IX-lea în lumina scrisorii Papei Nicolae I către împăratul Mihail III," *SCIVA* 37 (1986): 318–25; P. Iambor, "Izvoarele istorice și terminologia privind așezările fortificate din sec. IX–XIII," *AMN* 26–30 (1994): 11–24.

were frequent, owing to the “activism” of Slavic and Avar populations, Byzantium’s interest in the Danube region dropped significantly in the eighth century. The number of the Byzantine narrations from the eighth century is limited, only Synkellos Georgios describes certain moments, more linked to the beginning of the ninth century than to the end of the eighth century.² This situation is due to the passage of the Bulgarians to the south of the Danube and to the creation of the Bulgarian Khanate in 681, which broke the links between Byzantium and the Danube regions. In the ninth century, the Byzantines carried on a series of wars with the Bulgarian Khanate; it was only after the Christianization of the Bulgarians that Byzantine politics again turned towards the Danube territories that had once belonged to them. This process continued in the subsequent centuries and would be completed with the restoration of Byzantine control of the Danube at the end of the tenth century. This shift in Byzantine politics is also reflected in an increasing number of reports on the situation in the Danube regions in the eleventh–twelfth centuries.

For the events of the late seventh century, we should mention the *Chronograph*, by Theophanes Confessor, who continued the work of Georgios Synkellos.³ In addition to the information on relations between Byzantium and the Avars,⁴ the author describes the Bulgarian arrival in the Danube regions (680–681), noting that they had settled temporarily in *Onglos*, the territory located between the rivers the Danapris, the Danastris, and the Danube.⁵ Theophanes Confessor writes that Asparuh managed to cross the Danube in 679, following the incident when the Byzantine fleet retired, believing that the Emperor Constantine IV (668–685) ran away from his enemies, and the Bulgarians settled in the country that was “then under the protection of Christians,”⁶ also mentioning that the Slavians organized into “seven peoples or tribes, including the Severians.”⁷ Confrontations between the Bulgarians and the Byzantines during the seventh–tenth centuries were often mentioned in the works of many Byzantine authors: Nichifor, the Patriarch of Constantinople;⁸ the Patriarch Fotie,⁹ Georgios Monachos,¹⁰ Leo Grammaticus,¹¹ and Genesisios.¹² Out of a range of similar claims, none of the Byzantine authors refer to the political and cultural situation in the Carpathian–Danubian regions.

2 *Fontes Historiae Dacoromanae (FHDR) 2* (București, 1970): 589.

3 *FHDR 2*, 591.

4 *FHDR 2*, 617.

5 *FHDR 2*, 619.

6 *FHDR 2*, 619.

7 *FHDR 2*, 621.

8 *FHDR 2*, 625–27.

9 *FHDR 2*, 637.

10 *FHDR 2*, 633–35.

11 *FHDR 2*, 647.

12 *FHDR 2*, 655.

An important source for the history of the Danube regions is the work of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959), *De Imperio Administrando*,¹³ in which the author describes several events regarding the ethnic, political, and religious situation of the Danube regions. The author informs us that the Emperor Constantine IV, in order to strengthen their positions in the face of the Bulgarians' expansion, created *thema* Thracia, subsequently divided into three: Bulgaria, Istros, and Haemus. The Byzantine emperor describes the political situation to the north of the Danube in the ninth century, noting that, "in front of the fortress Distra stretches the Pecenegs' country," which was bordered in the north by the Russians.¹⁴ The author locates the Cavar and the Hungarian on the rivers Timiș, Tutis, Mureș, Criș, and Tisza.¹⁵ Also, abandoned old hillforts in the fords across the river Dniester have been recorded and in the interior of their constructions traces of churches with crosses carved in the tuff have been observed. This offers evidence that the Romeii once had settlements here.¹⁶ The association of C. Porfirogenetus' claims with the cultural realities in the ninth and tenth centuries on the Dniester is hard to prove. This is due to the fact that there have not been any known settlements and Christian cemeteries in the Middle Dniester regions to date. In this situation, we must consider the fact that those who informed the Byzantine emperor could have transmitted very general and, presumably, even wrong information. Indeed, on the Lower Dniester and the Răut there are several cave complexes that belonged to or where Christian communities were present, but this could have happened much later. The emergence and the existence of monastic structures, without political support and without an ecclesiastical structure, are difficult to imagine in the ninth century. We do not exclude the possibility of the occasional emergence of hermits or monks fleeing from the Empire into the Dniester regions, especially in the iconoclastic period, who, nevertheless, did not have enough capacity to build large churches amongst pagan communities. Moreover, since the second half of the tenth century, late migrations were gaining momentum, which, in successive waves, directly affected the regions between the Prut and the Dniester. The Byzantine Emperor's statements on the existence of abandoned cities and churches and the crosses carved in the rock on the right bank of the Dniester most likely refer to the territories of Dobrogea, where the churches carved in the rocks dating from the tenth century have been certified (see Basarabi Murfatlar), and his statement that "that is why it is said by tradition that the *Romeii* that once had

13 *FHDR* 2, 657, 660–61; 666–67.

14 *FHDR* 2, 669. Describing the areas controlled by the Pechenegs, the Byzantine emperor writes: "The land of the Pechenegs includes all the lands to Russia and Bospor and to Kherson and to Sarat, Vurat and to other parties. Its length from the River Danube to the Dnieper is 120 miles. From the Dniester to the Dnieper there are 80..." C. Constantin Porfirogenetul, *Carte de învățătură pentru fiul său Romanos*, trans. de Vasile Grecu (București, 1971), 63; Konstantin Bogrjanorodnyj, *Ob upravlennii imperiej*, tekst, perevod, komentarij, ed. G. G. Litavrina and A. Novosel'ceva (Moskva, 1989), 173.

15 Porfirogenetul, *Carte de învățătură*, 60–61.

16 Porfirogenetul, *Carte de învățătură*, 58.

settlements here” only reinforces this idea. That is because, along the Lower Dniester, except the Tyras fortress, neither the Greeks nor the Byzantines built fortresses, most of their efforts being concentrated on the present territory of Dobrogea and the Crimea. Therefore we believe that the claims of the emperor C. Porfirogenetus do require critical analysis.

As regards the ethnicity of some of the peoples that reached the Lower Danube, the Emperor Constantine Porfirogenetus, in the work *De thematibus*, called late Turanic migrants, arriving near the Danube in the ninth century, “Scythians,” and their territory “the land of the Scythians,”¹⁷ pointing out that the Protobulgarians were also, before reaching the area south of the Danube, called “the Onogurs.”¹⁸ In the case of this mention and in other cases we must be very careful, as the Byzantine writers named one region or another taking into account historical tradition (e.g. *The Land of Scythians* referring to the North-Pontic steppes) or the military elites that controlled these regions (the Scythians, the Avars, the Bulgarians, the Hungarians).

In 837–838 they mention the inhabitants of Adrianople returning—the survivors of the 10,000 deported in 831 by the Bulgarian Khan Krum into “Bulgaria across the Danube”¹⁹ to the south of the Danube by the Byzantine fleet. This was an event that raised broader historiographical debates and to which we will return throughout this book.

Genesios mentioned, in the context of the description of the events in the first half of the ninth century, the ethnic diversity of mercenaries in the imperial army of the Emperor Theophilus (829–842): “the polyglot army of the Slavs, the Huns, the Vandals, the Gets.”²⁰ It is true that the Byzantine army was made up of various ethnic elements, especially if we consider allies of the Byzantines. However, the presence of some historic populations in the Byzantine army during the ninth century, such as the Huns, the Vandals, and the Gets, is explained, in all likelihood, mostly by this historical tradition and the fact that these soldiers had come from the regions previously inhabited or controlled by the peoples nominated by Genesios.

The writings of high value for the early medieval history of the Danube regions are those of the following Byzantines: Leo the Deacon,²¹ Ioannes Skylitzes-Georgios Kedrenos,²² Ioannes Zonaras,²³ Theophanes Confessor,²⁴ Nicephoros,²⁵ Georgios

17 About the provinces, *FHDR* 2, 669, 671.

18 *FHDR* 2, 671.

19 Simeon Magister, *FHDR* 2,631; Leo Grammaticus, *FHDR* 2, 651–53.

20 In all likelihood, the author used a range of archaic names for the populations of the ninth century, *FHDR* 2, 655.

21 The work, written around 992, provides information on shipments of Russian princes on Byzantium. *FHDR* 2, 677.

22 In the work *Compedium Historiarum*, it is also written about the murder of the Prince Sviatoslav by the Pechenegs on his return to Kiev from the Danube, *FHDR* 3, 136–43.

23 *Chronicon*, *FHDR* 3, 216–17.

24 *FHDR* 2, 591.

25 *FHDR* 2, 625.

Monachos,²⁶ the Patriarch Fotie,²⁷ Simeon Magister,²⁸ Leo the Wise,²⁹ Theophanes Continuatus,³⁰ Suidas,³¹ and so on. The mention of the so-called “episcopal chair of the Scythians and the Avars and of the Danube River” found in the *Daco-Romanae Fontes Historiae*, (vol. 2, 639), is a confusion due to ignorance of the source context. In reality, the passage from *Notitia Episcopatum* describes only the limit of papal jurisdiction and does not refer to a particular bishop of the Scythians and the Avars.³² However, most of these mentions go beyond the chronological and geographical framework analysed in this book and refer to either a later period (tenth–eleventh centuries) or to the regions to the south of the Danube River. Therefore we will not involve them in this study.

Bulgarian Sources (Epigraphic)

From the time of Omurtag, there have been two attested epigraphic inscriptions on tombstones. The first inscription, in Greek, on a stone column, mentions a campaign waged north of the Danube by the Bulgarians, who went through the south of Moldova and came up to the Dnieper, where Kopan Okorses was killed. The source does not mention against whom the Bulgarian expedition was organized, but from the political circumstances of the time, it appears that they could have been the Hungarians.³³ The second inscription describes another Bulgarian military expedition, this time to the Tisza river region, where Tarkan Onegavon(ais) was killed.³⁴ This fact can be attributed to the fighting between the Bulgarians and the Slavic rulers from the Pannonian Steppe (early ninth century).

Russian Sources

Important information about the historical situation in the Carpathian-Danubian regions during the ninth–eleventh centuries is provided by the old Russian chronicles. In the chronicle *Povest' Vremennyh Let*, attributed to Nestor, it is stated that the Hungarians, after they had crossed the Carpathians, “began to struggle with the Vlachs and the Slavs

26 FHDR 2, 633.

27 FHDR 2, 637.

28 FHDR 2, 631.

29 FHDR 2, 643.

30 FHDR 2, 673.

31 FHDR 2, 699.

32 Madgearu, “Români,” 323.

33 V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*, Berliner byzantinische Arbeit 23 (Berlin, 1963), 6. Grabinschriften, no. 58, 281–85, pl. 114–115 (after Zlatarski this source may be dated from the years 818 and 820 or 823). The inscription made on a limestone, discovered in 1872 in an unspecified place, and is kept today in the Museum of Archaeology in Sofia, inv. no. 624.

34 Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*, 6. Grabinschriften, no. 59, 285–87, pl. 116. The inscription made on a marble fragment, discovered in 1872, in an unspecified place, kept today in the Museum of Archaeology in Sofia, inv. no. 665.

who lived there for the Slavs had settled there first, then came the Vlachs who subdued the Slavic land, then the Hungarians, casting out the Vlachs and conquering this country, they settled with the Slavs after having conquered them.”³⁵ The Tyvertsy and the Ulych have been attested to in the chronicle and it mentioned their relations with the principality of Kiev.³⁶ Thus, the chronicle recorded the relationship between several ethnic groups that have lived in or entered the territories to the north of the Lower Danube in the ninth–eleventh centuries.

Hungarian Sources

One of the most disputed medieval chronicles in modern and contemporary historiography is *Gesta Hungarorum*, by an anonymous notary of the Hungarian King Bela I of the eleventh century.³⁷ Only the first fifty-seven chapters have reached us. In its contents, we can find historical, political, demographic, economic, and ethnic data. The Hungarian chronicler noted that when the Hungarians came in Pannonian Steppe and the regions to the east of the Tisza they met several *duchies* inhabited by *sclauij*, *Bulgari* *jet* *Blachij*, *ac pastores Romanorum*.³⁸ Thus, Gelu, *quidam Blacus*, who ruled over *terra Ultrasilvania*,³⁹ is remembered in the Plateau of the Tisza in the late ninth century, which was inhabited by the *Blasii et Sclavii*. Menumorut resided in the city of Biharea,⁴⁰ and Glad in the fortress *Ursoua*.

Another medieval chronicle was that of Simon of Keza, who, in *Chronicon Hungaricum*, written in the late thirteenth century during the reign of the King Ladislas IV (1272–1290), stated that the *Blacki* lived in Pannonia during the reign of Attila after his death, referring to the route covered by the Hungarians to the upper valley of the Tisza and their attacks against the Romanian duchies.⁴¹

Western Sources

Annales Regni Francorum stands apart from the other early medieval western chronicles referring to events in the Carpathian Basin and reporting on the conflicts between the Avars and the Franks, together with the *Fuldenses Annals* that refer to Byzantine-Bulgarian

35 *Povest' Vremennyh Let*, čast' pervaja, tekst i perevod D.S. Lihačev (Moskva-Leningrad, 1950), 217.

36 *Povest' Vremennyh Let*, 20–21, 23, 33.

37 The Hungarian chronic that is known as “*P. dictus magister ac quondam bone memorie gloriosissimi bele regis hungarie notarius...*” or Anonymus. The fact that the notary mentions in his chronicle the events only until the year 1050/1060 makes us believe that he wrote his chronicle in the time of the King Bela I. In the literature it is considered that it could have been the notary of the Hungarian King Bela III (1172–1196).

38 *Cronica Notarului Anonymus. Faptele Ungurilor*, trans. P. Lazăr-Tociulescu (București, 2002), *Gesta Hungarorum*, 9. De pace inter ducem et Ruthenos.

39 *Gesta Hungarorum*, De terra ultrasilluana, 52–55.

40 *Gesta Hungarorum*, De duce Menumorut, 58.

41 de Keza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, 156–57.

warfare in 893 and to the conflict between the Franks, the Moravians and the Bulgarians in 892. However, the source refers to the marketing of salt from the Transylvanian regions and to the areas of expansion of the Frankish kingdom eastwards and of the Bulgarian Khanate northwest.⁴²

Oriental Sources

Geography, attributed to an Armenian who lived in the ninth century, Moise Chorenaṭ'i, where the land of *Balak* is mentioned, seems to have had Anania Sirakaṭ'i from the eighth century as the author in reality, according to the conclusions of specialist armenologists, and the passage at issue is a late interpolation, in all likelihood from the beginning of the second millennium.⁴³

The old Turanic chronicle *Oguzname* is of special interest for the political situation at the mouth of the Danube during the tenth–thirteenth centuries, as it mentions the presence of the Romanians (Ulak) at the beginning of the twelfth century in the context of Cumanian invasions. However, the chronicle reports Hungarians leaving Etelköz and their settlement in the northern-pontic regions in 895.⁴⁴ As it is correctly observed by some archaeologists, the modest nature of written sources on the early medieval historical realities of the Carpathian-Danubian regions does not allow us to stick to the idea of a “silence of sources.”⁴⁵ The lack of Byzantine interest in the Danube regions in the seventh–tenth centuries is explained by the political situation in these regions (the migration of some populations and imperial border withdrawal to the south of the Danube). Thus, the political situation had limited the Byzantine authors as to sources of direct information about the situation in this region. It resulted in the numerical modesty, confusion, and inaccuracy of these sources. We must also take into account the fact that in the Byzantine historical tradition there was frequent use of some archaic names regarding the names of neighbouring peoples, so that “Scythians” or “Avars” referred, practically, to all the inhabitants of the Lower Danube regions,⁴⁶ and the Khazars, the Hungarians, and the Pechenegs were often simply called “Turks.”⁴⁷

In order to check the authenticity of the information left by the Byzantine, Russian, Hungarian, and other authors they must be analysed in conjunction with other historical sources; in this case, primarily with archaeological ones. In the absence or the modest presence of narrative sources, the archaeological data obtain a special importance for elucidating the early medieval history of the Carpathian-Danubian regions.

⁴² *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. F. Kurze and H. Haefele, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. SS rerum Germanicarum*, 7, 2nd ed. (Hannover, 1891; rpr., 1978).

⁴³ V. Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI–XIV*, 3rd ed. (Chişinău: Universitas, 1994), 104–5.

⁴⁴ Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI–XIV*, 104–5.

⁴⁵ C. Chiriac, “Unele observații asupra informațiilor literar-istorice bizantine privitoare la regiunea Dunării de Jos în secolele V–X,” *AM* 20 (1999): 124; Chiriac, *Civilizația bizantină și societatea din regiunile extracarpătice ale României în secolele VI–VIII* (Brăila: Editura Istros, 2013), 17–44.

⁴⁶ Madgearu, “Românii,” 321, 324.

⁴⁷ Spinei, “Informații despre vlahi. II,” 277.

Archaeological Sources

The reduced number or, in some cases, the complete lack of written sources is complemented by other types of historical data, among which archaeological discoveries stand apart. These provide data on material and spiritual achievements of the human communities in different historical eras. Thus, archaeological sources dispose of considerable weight for studying the history of the territories to the north of the Lower Danube in the last quarter of the first millennium. The archaeological investigations from the last seven to eight decades have gathered rich and diverse archaeological material, the analysis and interpretation of which allow us to reconstruct the historical realities of the studied period and its geographical framework. The category of early medieval archaeological sources includes findings from the settlements, cemeteries, graves, uncertain funerary discoveries, deposits, hoards, and isolated coins, and is the result of either methodical investigation or accidental discoveries. All these findings, taken together, make a real contribution to research into the economic, social, and cultural realities to the north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–ninth centuries.

The first archaeological materials from the eighth–ninth centuries identified on the territory of Romania, Hungary, and Serbia come from occasional discoveries in the second half of the nineteenth century. During the twentieth century, a series of systematic excavations were carried out under the auspices of specialized institutions from Romania, Hungary, Serbia (Yugoslavia), Moldova, and Ukraine (USSR) which revealed rich and varied archaeological material from the eighth–ninth centuries. The political changes at the end of the twentieth century decreased the intensity of archaeological investigations in the countries of the former socialist camp. In recent years there has been a return of interest in Romania, Moldova, Ukraine, Hungary, and Serbia through continuing excavations or the opening of new archaeological sites aimed at researching early medieval realities north of the Lower Danube.

These archaeological materials include data from surface research, rescue excavations, and systematic investigation, and from the results of accidental discoveries without a precise location which were subsequently verified and analysed archaeologically. Over 2,500 archaeological (Table 1, Chart 1, Map 2) and over 130 numismatic discoveries (Table 6, Chart 4, Map 7) have been recorded and mapped in this book to the present in the specialized publications regarding the Carpathian–Danubian regions.

Archaeological sources include various data that reflect the material and spiritual activity of a people from various historical eras. For the period studied here, characteristic are open and hillforts, built housing and buildings for economic purposes, cemeteries and graves, and a wide variety of objects and tools intended for economic activities or pieces of jewellery and coins.

Settlements

The results of investigations of settlements give us important data on the organization of human habitats to the north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries. Thus, based on archaeological data we can reconstruct the economic and social organization of these communities. In this book, we catalogued and mapped 2,101 settlements known

in the literature on the basis of field surveys and archaeological excavations (Table 1, Map 3).

Hillforts

Hillforts, the research of which allows for the reconstitution of the military, social, and political history of the region, forms a special category. In this book over ninety hillforts (Table 1, Map 4, 4a) have been catalogued and mapped.

Burial Findings

The category of burial findings includes singular graves and cemeteries: 388 burial findings date back to the eighth–ninth centuries, among which there are 221 cemeteries, 79 graves, and 89 uncertain funerary findings (Table 2, Chart 2, Map 5).

Numismatic Findings

Numismatic sources are of special interest for historical studies. The coins represent a special category of research sources that help us reconstruct not only the realities of the economic, political, and social order but also to solve the problem of chronology regarding archaeological findings.⁴⁸ This category of sources includes coins that circulated in the eighth–ninth centuries in the Carpathian-Danubian space. The numismatic material certified in cultural layers of the eighth–ninth centuries is represented, in most cases, by singular discoveries of Byzantine and Arab coins. Out of the total number of coins, the Byzantine pieces predominate in comparison with the Arab ones. Thus, over 130 coins from the eighth–ninth centuries are known from the region to the north of the Lower Danube, most of which come from singular discoveries, with only a third from the hoards of Cleja, Răducăneni, and Alcedar.⁴⁹ After issuance, the coins fell into three groups: Arabian, Byzantine, and Western European (Tables 6–10, Charts 4–6, Maps 6–9).

The attempts to synthesize archaeological findings from the areas north of the Lower Danube in the socialist period were incomplete, often influenced by political pressures. In most cases, archaeologists have sought to compare the results of discoveries from the east, from south of the Carpathians, or from Transylvania with those regions nearby without trying to integrate them into a wider geographical area. Owing

⁴⁸ F. Daim, "Istorija i arhaeologija avar," *MAIET* 9 (2002): 290.

⁴⁹ The hoards from Răducăneni, county Iași (Constantin Preda, "Circulația monedelor bizantine în regiunile carpato-dunărene," *SCIV* 23 (1973): 399; Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 78–80; Cleja, county Bacău (Preda, "Circulația monedelor," 399) and Alcedar, Șoldănești region (A. A. Nudel'man, *Topografija kladov i nahodok ediničnyh monet* (=AKM 8) (Kišinev, 1976), 89–90). Hoard of Sânnicolau Mare, county Timiș (M. Rusu, "Tezaurul de la Sânnicolau Mare (Noi puncte de vedere)," *AIIC* 27 (1985–1986): 31–66).

to the archaeological information gathered so far, we have recently attested to the emergence of synthetic papers that analyse the early Middle Ages, both at the micro- and macro-regional level.⁵⁰

Evaluation of the archaeological records and their collation with the narrative ones, applying contemporary research methods and techniques, is a natural way to examine the early Middle Ages to the north of the Lower Danube. Thus, based on archaeological and numismatic sources, we will analyse a number of aspects of the history of the Carpathian-Danubian space in the eighth–ninth centuries in succession.

50 A. Bejan, *Banatul în secolele IV–XII* (Timișoara, 1995); Olteanu, *Societatea carpato-danubiano-pontică*; D. Țeicu, *Banatul montan în evul mediu* (Timișoara, 1998); Șt. Pascu and R. Theodorescu, ed., *Istoria Românilor. Genezele românești*, 3 (București, 2001); C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul în secolele VIII–X d. Hr.* (Cluj-Napoca, 2002); M. Andronic, *Teritoriul nord-est carpatic în a doua jumătate a primului mileniu creștin* (Suceava, 2005); S. Musteață, *Populația spațiului pruto—nistrean în secolele VIII–IX* (Chișinău: Editura Pontos, 2005); I. M. Țipliescu, *Contribuții la istoria spațiului românesc în perioada migrațiilor și evul mediu timpuriu (secolele IV–XIII)* (Iași, 2005); Bejan, *Contribuția la istoria și arheologia Banatului în mileniul I d. Hr. și începutul feudalismului* (Timișoara: Excelsior Art, 2006), 92–103; Gh. Postică, *Civilizația medievală timpurie din spațiul pruto-nistrean (secolele V–XIII)*, *Bibliotheca Archaeologica Moldaviae* 7 (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2007).

Chapter 2

HABITATION

AS A RESULT of field surveys and (rescue or systematic) archaeological excavations, a rich and diverse array of archaeological material regarding the populations to the north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries have been assembled. Registering, mapping, and analysing these archaeological data allow us to distinguish some archaeological features of human habitation from this period in the regions that are the subject of this research. Geo-climatic conditions have played an important role in influencing the lifestyle of human society and thus in the study of the peculiarities of habitations from particular eras.

The Carpathian-Danube basin has undergone many environmental changes over the past two millennia; geo-climatic conditions directly influenced the lifestyle of human societies.¹ The natural features of the landscape are also important in studying changes in the environment in relation to the human habitat. An increase or decrease in the number of archaeological sites in a region speaks of the attractiveness or insignificance of that area in the period studied.

During the Holocene, the development of a temperate climate favoured the development of complex vegetation. Beech forests came from areas west and northwest; oak forests came from the south, and steppe vegetation came from the east. During the time of the Roman Empire (150 BC to AD 300) a cooling period began that lasted until about AD 900, the so-called Roman Climatic Optimum (although the average global temperature remained relatively warm until about AD 600). The archaeological record of the Carpathian-Danube region from the end of the seventh until the late ninth century reveals significant historical developments in Central and Southeast Europe. The lower chronological limit marks the migration of the Bulgars south of the Danube (680/681) and the upper limit coincides with the movement of the Hungarians from the East-European steppes to Pannonia (895/896).

After a cold period with higher-than-average precipitation at the end of seventh century, a dry period started that peaked at the end of eighth century and affected large areas of Asia² and Western Europe. From the temperate zone of the Volga and the Carpathians (from the mouth of the Danube to the mouth of the Volga), the steppe vegetation was largely the same.³ A great increase in the density of settlements in the Carpathian-Danube region occurred from the eighth to the tenth century (a similar development has been noted for the period of the third to the fourth century).

1 Drăgan and Șt. Airinei, *Geoclimat*.

2 In Asia, drought had catastrophic effects, a range of water sources dried up (rivers, lakes, and springs), many hillforts were abandoned, and some towns were covered by sand.

3 M. Botzan, *Mediu și viațuire în spațiul carpato-dunăreano-pontic* (București: Editura Academiei Române, 1996), 19.

In some Transdanubian areas, recent pollen analyses have highlighted a sudden drop in the water level around the year 800, which led to several lakes drying up and finally a change in the composition of the local vegetation, seen, for example, around Lake Balaton in Hungary.⁴ The location of early medieval settlements in floodplains supports the idea of a low water level in this period, presumably because there would have been less danger of flooding.

In the ninth century, the climate became more humid in the Carpathian Basin, which led to the rejuvenation of vegetation and made the situation attractive to nomadic steppe people. High humidity is not the most favourable condition for livestock; wet grass favours the development of diseases which are detrimental to animals.⁵ This seems to have led nomadic people in the late ninth century, including the Hungarians, to seek areas with a warmer climate and a lower relative humidity.⁶ In general, the period between 900 and 1150 was predominantly warm and dry, with some variation depending on the season and landform (mountains, hills, or plains).⁷ The Middle Ages in Europe fell within the period of the so-called Medieval Climatic Anomaly, which lasted from approximately AD 950 to AD 1400, when the climate in this part of the European continent enjoyed mild winters and hot summers.⁸

Human beings became an important factor in the reshaping of the landscape through their efforts to provide themselves with food, clothing, and so on. Anthropogenic influence on the geographical environment became more noticeable during the second millennium. Deforestation and the expansion of agriculture caused a reduction in forested areas and an expansion of grasslands. Deforestation and the draining of large territories had direct consequences on the landscape, the flora, and the fauna of region. Excessive hunting led to the extinction of some animal species, such as the aurochs, which disappeared in the fifteenth century, bison and tarpan, extinct since the eighteenth century, the castor, or European beaver, becoming extinct in the first half of the nineteenth century, and so on.⁹

On the territories to the west of the Carpathians deforestation began during the Avar period and continued in the Carolingian period.¹⁰ Major deforestation occurred in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space only near to the Modern Age (the

4 I. Juhász, "The Pollen Sequence from Baláta-tó," in *Environmental Archaeology in Transdanubia* (Varia archaeologica Hungarica, 20), ed. Cs. Zatykó, I. Juhász, and P. Sümegi (Budapest: Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2007), 246–47. For environment changes in Hungary during the Middle Ages (eleventh–fifteenth centuries) see the work by Ágnes Andrea Kiss, *Floods and Long-Term Water-Level Changes in Medieval Hungary*, Doctoral dissertation, Central European University, Budapest: 2011, www.etd.ceu.hu/2011/mphkis22.pdf (accessed 06.18.2018).

5 This situation caused the mass death of animals, approximately 80 per cent in 1940–1941.

6 G. Györffy and B. Zólyomi, "A Kárpát-medence és Etelköz képe egy évezred előtt," in *Honfoglalás és régészet*, ed. Kovács László (Budapest, 1994), 31.

7 Drăgan and Șt. Airinei, *Geoclimate*, 303.

8 Drăgan and Șt. Airinei, *Geoclimate*, 303.

9 M. Petrescu-Dîmboviță and A. Vulpe, *Istoria Românilor, Moștenirea timpurilor îndepărtate 1* (București, 2001), 17.

10 Györffy and Zólyomi, "A Kárpát-medence," 16.

eighteenth–nineteenth centuries)¹¹ and had direct consequences on wildlife. Many rivers in the plains regions changed their courses (the Buzau river flowed in the current Călmațui Valley, the Mostiștea represented the lower flow of the Ialomița, the Krasna passed along the Ier Valley into the Barcău Basin to the north, to the Someș, and then directly to the Tisza, and so on). The Danube delta also underwent a number of changes as a result of the sludge-setting process in suspension, as fresh water flowed into the salt water of the sea and formed underwater bar formations, and so on.¹²

The Carpathians, the Danube, the Black Sea, the commercial crossroads between the East and the West, the North and the South, and its natural resources constituted geopolitical and strategic elements attracting armies and settlers to the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic region since ancient times.¹³ The Tisza Plain was one of the last major lowland regions in the path of nomadic populations coming from the East, since the lowland areas in northern Europe had been characterized by a harsher climate and the Padova Plain was of smaller dimensions. Thus, the Tisza Plain became “a space to absorb migratory nomads and halting of their movement to the other lands in the west of the continent.”¹⁴ The regions to the east and the south of the Carpathians were not an exception to this phenomenon through late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In search of explanations of the causes of the displacements of populations from one region to another, we should not confine ourselves to only political and military factors, but also to review the geoclimatic conditions that played such an important role throughout history in migration phenomena. There is thus a need for more efficient corroboration of written archaeological sources and of new opportunities for analysing changes in climate in order to respond to the multitude of questions about the particularities of human habitation in the early Middle Ages in Europe and Asia.

The southeastern part of the researched region is bathed by the Black Sea, which covers an area of 413,488 square km, with an average depth of 1,282 m and the maximum depth of 2,245 m. The coast represents a strip interfacing between the sea and the continent, composed of firm land and a submerged area. Sea breezes are felt inland over a distance of up to 25 km, which creates a *coastline climate* in this area.¹⁵ After the second half of the first millennium AD, the Black Sea entered the phase of transgression, manifesting in the past centuries at intensity of approximately 20 cm per century. The consequences of this rise in sea level led to the transformation of the mouths of the rivers from the region into estuaries, to the flooding of maritime levels, and to the growth of alluvial plains inside the Delta.¹⁶ Lagoons and estuaries are also specific forms of the seashore. The Danube delta is shaped like a triangle with its top in Pătlăgeanca, being either a delta evolved from the Danube Depression or developed on a former

11 Bacumenco, “Structuri geospațiale,” 193; Botzan, *Mediu și viațuire*, 12.

12 Petrescu-Dîmboviță and Vulpe, *Istoria Românilor*, 17.

13 G. Vâlsan, *Pământul românesc și frumusețele lui* (București, 1982).

14 Ioniță, “Masivul Carpatic,” 225, 227.

15 I. Șandru and V. Cucu, *România. Prezentare geografică* (București, 1984).

16 M. Sandu, “Eustatismul cuaternar,” in *Geografia României* 1 (București, 1983), 88–89.

gulf, occupied by the sea in the Neolithic transgression when the water level fluctuated between -8 m and 4 m.¹⁷

Soils as a geographical element, depending on its quality, either favour or hinder anthropogenic activity.¹⁸ Soils are placed, as vegetation, according to the soil characteristic to each region, wherein the mollisols occur in the low parts and especially to the south and the southeast (under the steppe and the forest steppe), the clay-alluvial soils (under the oak forests), the cambisols (under the beech forest) and the spodosol soils (the podzols under the beech trees and the conifers and acid brown alpine soils under the alpine steppe). There are also azonal soils (halomorphic, hydromorphic, sandy, and alluvial).¹⁹ Thus approximately one quarter of the entire area to the north of the Lower Danube is covered by mollisols, primarily by chernozems, widely used in farming (arable); one quarter pertains to clay-alluvial soils (reddish-brown and brown soils) used not only in crop production, in horticulture, and in viticulture, but also for forests and meadows; slightly over 20 per cent belong to the areas with mountain soils (podzols, brown acid) occupied by forests and alpine pastures, and approximately one-quarter is made up of other soil types with varied usage.²⁰

Archaeological Sites

Mapping the sites from the eighth–ninth centuries to the north of the Lower Danube reveals both the demographic situation and the degree of archaeological research in the region. Compared with the previous period (the sixth–seventh centuries), we notice a demographic jump characteristic of the era throughout the whole of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic territory. In the Prut-Dniester space, the number of settlements practically doubled in the eighth–ninth centuries when compared to the sixth–seventh centuries. Some archaeologists believe that the maximum duration of a settlement may be spread over two or three generations.²¹ A social and historical explanation of this phenomenon can be found in the analysis of the successive resettlement process of these settlements from one to another area, imposed either by climatic factors or by swarming, to which are also added the settlements which appeared due to populations coming from other regions. The confirmation of an impressive number of settlements to the north of the Lower Danube dating from the eighth–ninth centuries does not require their concomitant existence during those two centuries.²²

17 Posea, *Geografia fizică*, 174.

18 Bacumenco, "Structuri geospațiale," 185.

19 G. Mavrocordat, *Die Böden Rumäniens* (Berlin, 1971), 45; Posea, *Geografia fizică*, 32; Posea, *Geografia fizică a României*, pt. 2-a, *Clima. Apele. Biogeografia. Solurile. Hazardele naturale* (București, 2004), 161–222.

20 Petrescu-Dîmbovița and Vulpe, *Istoria românilor*, 16.

21 C. Cosma, "Considerații privind așezările rurale și tipurile de locuințe din Transilvania în secolele VIII–X," *EN 6* (1996): 263; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 38.

22 Cosma, "Considerații," 263; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 38.

The large number of certified settled areas within a single archaeological site, such as cases from Alibunar, Serbia;²³ Békéscsaba, Hungary;²⁴ Černovka, Ukraine;²⁵ Costești, Râșcani rayon, Moldova,²⁶ and so on, is in most cases due to field surveys and confirmation of a few fragments of pottery from the soil surface, and can be explained by a frequent displacement of communities within a radius of 1–3 km.²⁷ Human mobility in the early Middle Ages was quite high because the population was involved in a continuous search for land for agriculture or, conversely, the displacement of the settlement could be due to a danger that came from outside the community. Natural disasters (floods / water level changes) and invasions were crucial factors in settlement relocation. In this context, we must take into account both short-term housing cases, demonstrated by thin cultural layers from some settlements and cases of prolonged habitation or inhabitation with interruptions. Organized movements took place, in all likelihood, within some sub-units or a micro-region, clearly delimited geographically.²⁸ In the context of these migrations and the displacement of populations, agrarian societies in most cases took account of both the area's topographical conditions and of soil quality. Regarding the territorial concentration of archaeological sites from the eighth–ninth centuries, it appears that in some regions the density is higher than in others (Maps 1, 2). The reasons for this can be both the geopolitical and economic conditions of the investigated period, and the fact that some areas were simply more thoroughly investigated than others. The problem of poorly researched geographical areas was mentioned by Dan. Gh. Teodor,²⁹ V. Spinei,³⁰ and, more recently, by G. T. Rustoiu.³¹

We must also take into account the geographical conditions of the areas where the settlements are missing or where their number is reduced (swampy, mountain, steppe regions, etc.). Geo-climatic conditions have had an important role in the evolution of

23 St. Trifunović, "Antička i srednjovekovna arheološka nalazišta opštine Alibunar, rekognosciranje terena," *RVM* 30 (1989–1990): 101.

24 J. Szentpéteri, ed., *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa*, vols. 1–2, *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* 13 (Budapest, 2002), 450–56.

25 B. A. Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina VI–X vv. n.é.* (Moskva, 1990), 178–80.

26 G. B. Fëdorov and G. F. Čebotarenko, *Pamjatniki drevnih slavjan (VI–XIII vv.)* (AKM—Arheologičeskaja Karta Moldavskoj SSR 6) (Kišinev, 1974), 22, no. 53–55; 40, no. 134; 72, no. 259; V. A. Dergačev, *Materialy raskopok arheologičeskoj ekspedicii na Srednem Prute (1975–1976)* (Kišinev, 1982), 64–77.

27 A. Bejan, "Economia satului bănățean la începutul feudalismului (sec. VIII–XI)," *AB* 12–23 (2004–2005): 268.

28 A. Nissen Jaubert, "Ruptures et continuités de l'habitat rural du haut Moyen Âge dans le nord-ouest de l'Europe," in *Habitat et Société, XIXe Rencontres Internationales d'Archéologie et d'Histoire d'Antibes*, ed. F. Braemer, S. Cleuziou and A. Coudart (Antibes, 1999), 521.

29 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 69.

30 Spinei, *Realități etnice*, fig. 3.

31 G. T. Rustoiu, "Exploatarea sării și habitatul uman în Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului V și prima jumătate a secolului VI," in *Comerț și civilizație. Transilvania în contextul schimburilor comerciale și culturale în antichitate*, ed. C. Cosma and A. Rustoriu (Cluj-Napoca, 2005), 275.

habitat. Dry climate and droughts in the eighth century led to lower water levels in rivers, lakes, and swamps, which directly influenced the location and development of settlements in certain areas. So we can see through the ages the concentration of settlements in areas with average humidity, with plateaus, or foothills, compared to plains where they are less numerous. Thus, besides other drivers of the political and economic order, the lack of settlements in the steppe areas north of the Lower Danube in the fifth–seventh centuries can be explained by the climate. Two good examples are the southern part of the Bugeac Steppe and the hilly Steppe Horincea-Elan-Prut,³² where, during the fifth–seventh centuries, settlements were absent and, in the ninth–tenth centuries, a “population explosion” took place (Maps 1–3). This phenomenon may be related both to the climatic changes of the ninth century, with richer precipitation which facilitated the emergence of a whole chain of settlements in the zone of the Danubian lakes, and to the political situation, such as confrontations between the Avar Kaganate, the Carolingian State, Byzantium, and the Bulgarian Khanate, which caused population movements, some of them settling in the regions from the north of the Danube (Maps 1, 5).

The same situation is seen in the Banat-Crișan Plain. In Banat most settlements are located on the terraces of rivers at relatively low altitudes; in particular, there are some groups near the Danube between Orșova and New Moldova, along the Bega river in the zone of Timișoara, on the Timiș’ waters, and in the area of Ocna de Fier (Maps 1, 2).³³

In the northwest areas of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space, the groups of settlements are between the Crișul Repede, the Someș in the north and the Meses gates in the east, between the Mureș and the Crișul Repede, and in the Beiuș Depression.³⁴ In the intra-Carpathic space there is a concentration of settlements seen in the basins of the rivers Someș and Mureș and on the Transylvania Plain, between the Crișul Alb and the Mures, near the city of Alba Iulia, near the headwaters of the Târnavelor, on the upper and middle courses of the Olt river, near Barsa, on the left bank of the Olt, in the Brețcu valley, and in Brașov area (Maps 1, 2).³⁵

In eastern Wallachia, toward the north and the south are found certified concentrations of sites and a relatively high density of settlements near the cities of

32 G. Coman, “Cercetările arheologice cu privire la secolele V–XI în sudul Moldovei (steapa colinară Horincea-Elan-Prut),” *AM* 6 (1969): 277.

33 Bejan, “Economia satului,” 266; Șt. Pascu, Șt. Olteanu, D. Gh. Teodor, and O. Iliescu, “Dinamica structurilor demo-economice (rețeaua demografică, structurile teritoriale) indeletnicirile agrare, creșterea animalelor, exploatarea bogățiilor miniere “economia de transformare,” circulația mărfurilor și a banilor),” in *Istoria Românilor. Genezele românești*, 3, ed. Șt. Pascu and R. Theodorescu (București, 2001), 151.

34 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 25; A. V. Matei and D. Băcuet-Crișan, *Contribuții arheologice privind topografia și structura internă a satului medieval timpuriu din nord-vestul României. Așezarea de la Porț-La baraj (județul Sălaj)* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2011), 11.

35 Șt. Olteanu, M. Rusu, and R. Popa, “Modul de viață a comunităților umane: așezări, locuințe, necropole, credințe,” in *Istoria Românilor. Genezele românești*, ed. Șt. Pascu and R. Theodorescu, 3 (București, 2001), 71; Pascu et al., “Dinamica structurilor,” 151–52.

Buzăuși, Ramnicu, and Valcea, in the zone of Braila, between the lower courses of the Buzau, the Călmățui, and the Danube, in the Bărăgan plain, along the lower course of the Ialomița,³⁶ in the areas around Bucov and Slon, in the zone of Calarași and Mostiștea between the Danube and the Arges, between the Dambovița and Colentina, and between Vedea and Teleorman.³⁷ In Oltenia, the number of early medieval sites is fewer (Maps 1, 2). The assertion of some Soviet archaeologists from the 1970s regarding a total lack of settlements from the eighth–tenth centuries in Wallachia and Oltenia does not correspond to contemporary archaeological realities.³⁸

On the territories to the east of the Carpathians we should highlight the concentrations of settlements of a few groups: the northern part of the Bukovina, the basins of the rivers Siret and Prut, on the lower course of the Jijia, the Bahlui, and the Prut; the central region of the Central Moldavian Plateau, between the Prut and the Bârlad, in the region of Vrancea, with extensions to the course of the Oituz into the Troțuș and in the Oituz valley; and the southern region, groups of settlements between the lower courses of the rivers Bistrița, Moldova, and Siret, and between the lower courses of the Siret and the Prut (Maps 1, 2).³⁹

In the Prut-Dniester space, fourteen groups of settlements have been distinguished: the Hotin Forest; the plateau of the northern Moldovan-Briceni region; the plateau of the northern Moldovan Dondușeni-Ocnița region; the hilly plain of the Middle Prut-Roșcani-Prut region; the Plateau of Soroca; the residual height of Ciuluc; the hilly region between the Răut and the Dniester; the Orhei Forest; the Central Plateau-the Calarași Forest; the Lăpușna Land; the Tigheci Forest; the Bugeac Plain; the Danubian Lakes region; and the plains of the Lower Dniester (Maps 1, 2).⁴⁰

From the geographic point of view, the settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries have been virtually certified on the surface of most landforms present to the north of the Danube (plains, hills, and foothills), though the mountainous regions and some sectors of the plains are exceptions (the hilly Plain of Bălți, in Bugeac, and in northern Oltenia and Wallachia) (Maps 1, 2). The lack of settlements in the mountainous areas and their limited number in the sub-mountain areas with rugged terrain, often forested, have restricted archaeological investigations, a fact recognized by some Romanian archaeologists.⁴¹ However, we generally find that human settlements documented to date in the regions to the north of the Lower Danube are concentrated in clearly delineated areas of the available habitat (Maps 1, 2).

36 A. Păunescu and E. Rența, “Așezarea medievală timpurie de la Bucu, județul Ialomița,” *AM* 2 (1998): 58.

37 Pascu et al., “Dinamica structurilor,” 151.

38 G. B. Fëdorov and L. L. Polevoj, *Arheologija Rumynii* (Moskva, 1973), 300.

39 Pascu et al., “Dinamica structurilor,” 149–50.

40 Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 33; Postică, *Civilizația medievală*.

41 D. Gh. Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice și numismatice la Est de Carpați în secolele V–XI d.H. (contribuții la continuitatea daco-romană și veche românească)* (București, 1997), 12.

In most cases, the settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries are located on favourable sites for agriculture and, at the same time, are very easy to defend. Most archaeological sites are located in forested areas.⁴² The settlements' density, though, varies from one area to another, with the largest being found in hilly areas along the course of rivers and streams and on the terraces of major rivers. The concentration of some demographic groups can be seen in geographically well-defined areas, but we must take into account, as we have already mentioned, that the geographic distribution of sites from the eighth–ninth centuries reflects only the current stage of research and the intensity of investigations in one or another area.

From the topographic point of view, we can distinguish several categories of settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries to the north of the Lower Danube.⁴³ These are:

- settlements located in the valleys of rivers and streams;
- settlements located on the headlands or on the tops of hills, next to the basins of rivers and streams;
- settlements located in foothills and in forested collateral remote valleys with water sources (springs, streams, rivers);
- settlements located on the terraces and plateaus of major rivers and natural lakes;
- habitations in caves.

Settlements from the first three categories are characteristic of the hilly areas to the north of the Lower Danube,⁴⁴ and those from the fourth category are generally found on the banks of large rivers and lakes near the Danube and the Black Sea. The placement of sites on the surface of the lower terraces and in river meadows is characteristic of most of the early medieval settlements in the Carpathian-Danubian space.⁴⁵ It is a fact that people of all historical eras were seeking to settle in the proximity of water sources, such as large and small rivers, streams and springs meadows, and so on.⁴⁶

The settlements from the fourth group are located around the rivers Danube, Tisza, Dniester, Mureș, Olt, Siret, Ialomița, Someș, Argeș, Jiu, Buzău, Dâmbovița, Răut, Bistrița, Jijia, Bârlad, Târnava Mare, and Timiș, as well as around the Danubian lakes and the Dniester firth. The best-known sites situated on the open terraces of the Danube river

⁴² Spinei, *Realități etnice*, fig. 2.

⁴³ Postică, "Observații," 60; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*; I. P. Voznij, "Topografija ta tipologija vidkritih poselen' XII–XIV st. Pruto-Dnistrovs'kogo mežiriččja," *Arheologija* 2 (2004): 48–67; Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 18; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 27; Bejan, "Economia satului," 267.

⁴⁴ Bejan, "Economia satului," 266; Postică, "Observații," 61.

⁴⁵ I. Mitrea, "Elemente comune în cultura materială și spirituală din regiunea central-sud-vestică a Moldovei și sud-estul Transilvaniei în secolele VI–X, expresie a unității etnice de pe ambele versante ale Carpaților," *Vrancea 8–10* (1991): 84; I. Mitrea, *Din arheologia și istoria Moldovei în primul mileniu creștin* (Bacău: Editura Babel, 2012), 217–18.

⁴⁶ Gh. Constantinescu, "Unelte folosite pe teritoriul județului Vrancea în sec. IV–XII," *Vrancea 8–10* (1991): 113.

are, for example, those from the area Clisurii (Gornea, Moldova Veche),⁴⁷ while those on the terraces of the Dniester river are the settlements at Raškov⁴⁸ and Calfa.⁴⁹ Also notable are those on the terraces of the Prut (Etulia),⁵⁰ on the shores of the Danubian lakes (Bogatoe, Suvorovo),⁵¹ and on the Dniester firth (Šabo).⁵²

The fifth category, the less numerous, is made up of the cave locations, concentrated primarily in the Banat Mountains and on the defile of the Crișan Repede.⁵³

In some settlements, people established continuity of habitation on the same area over the centuries. The most popular were the settlements at Biharea,⁵⁴ Brănești,⁵⁵ Cefa,⁵⁶

47 I. Uzum, "Mărturii arheologice de civilizație veche românească descoperite în satul Gornea-Căunița de Sus," *Banatica* 10 (1990); D. Țeicu and Gh. Lazarovici, *Gornea. Din arheologia unui sat medieval din Clisura Dunării* (Reșița, 1996); Țeicu, *Banatul montan*, 84.

48 V. D. Baran, *Die frühslawische Siedlung von Raškov, Ukraine*, in *Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie* 8 (Bonn: 1986); V. D. Baran, *Pražskaja kul'tura Podnestrov'ja (po materialam poselenij u s. Raškov)* (Kiev, 1988); Ja. V. Baran, *Slovjans'ka obščina (za materialami poselennja Rašktiv I, Avtoreferat dis. Kand. Ist. Nauk (Kyiv, 1992).*

49 G. F. Čebotarenko, "Poselenie Kalfa," in *Materialy issledovanija po arheologii jugo-zapada SSSR i Rumynskoj Narodnoj Respubliki* (Kišinev, 1960); Čebotarenko, "Klassifikacija keramiki poselenija Kalfy (K voprosu o južnyh na territorii Moldavii)," *Trudy III konf. mold. učenyh Moldavii*, 3 (ser. obšč. nauk) (Kišinev, 1963); Čebotarenko, "Žilišča gorodišča Kalfa VIII-IX vv.," *IAN MSSR* 12 (1965); Čebotarenko, *Kalfa—gorodišče VIII-X vv. na Dnestre* (Kišinev, 1973).

50 G. F. Čebotarenko, "Poselenie Etulija VI," in *AIM v 1972 g.* (1974); Čebotarenko, "Kamennyj dom epohi rannego srednevekov'ja na poselenie Etulija VI," in *150 let Odesskomu arheologičeskomu muzeju AN USSR* (Kiev, 1975); G. F. Čebotarenko and T. A. Ščerbakova, "Raskopki poselenija u s. Etulia," *AIM v 1973 g.* (1974); Čebotarenko and Ščerbakova, "Kamennoe sooruženie na poselenii Etulija VI," *AIM v 1974-1976 gg.* (1981); G. F. Čebotarenko and N. P. Tel'nov, "Poselenii Etulija VII v Moldavii," in *Stratum plus* 5 (2000).

51 A. T. Smilenko and A. A. Kozlovskij, "Srednevekovye poselenija v primorskoj časti dnestrodunajnskogo meždureč'ja," in *Dnestro-dunajskoe meždureč'e v I-načale II tys.* (Kiev, 1987); Smilenko and Kozlovskij, "Poselenija u sel Šabo i Bogatoe Odesskoj oblasti," in *Dnestro-dunajskoe meždureč'e v I-načale II tys.* (Kiev, 1987). V. I. Kozlov, *Naselenie stepnogo meždureč'ja Dunaja i Dnestra konca VIII—načala XI veka n.ė: Balkano-Dunajskaja Kul'tura/Popularion of the Danube-Dniestr Steppes in Late 8th-Early 11th Centuries: Balkan-Danube Culture* (Kazan'-Sankt-Peterburg-Kišinev: Stratum plus, 2015).

52 A. T. Smilenko and V. I. Kozlov, "Slavjanskoe poselenie konca I tysjačletija n.ė. u s. Šabo na Dnestrovskom limane," in *AISDPDM* (Kišinev, 1985); Smilenko and Kozlovskij, "Poselenija u sel Šabo i Bogatoe."

53 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 54-55; Bejan, "Economia satului," 267.

54 S. Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I. Săpăturile arheologice (1973-1980)* (Oradea, 1994).

55 G. B. Fëdorov, "Naselenie prutsko-dnestrovskogo meždureč'ja v I tysjačletie n.ė.," *MIA* 89 (1960): 378.

56 I. Crișan, "Descoperiri arheologice în hotarul localității Cefa (jud. Bihor)," *Crisia* 17 (1987); Crișan, "Săpăturile arheologice din anul 1993 de pe șantierul Cefa-La Pădure, județul Bihor," *Crisia* 24 (1994).

Černovka,⁵⁷ Hansca-Limbari Căprăria,⁵⁸ Lopatna,⁵⁹ Mășcăuți-Livada Boierului, Pohorniceni,⁶⁰ and so on. At the same time, there have been certified settlements located on the same geographical area of the border of a contemporary location, therefore indicating different and successive settlements. A separate category is made up of the settlements from the same geographical area, such as the sites of the valley and river terraces, which appeared either from successive relocation imposed by natural, political, and economic conditions or through natural swarming. To these settlements, created through removal or swarming, we should add those occurring through the arrival of other populations, and this is how villages with mixed or allogeneic populations appeared.⁶¹

The presence of a large population in Pannonia and in the regions to the east of the Tisza is mentioned by a Hungarian chronicler in *Gesta Hungarorum*, who, in the context of Hungarian campaigns, describes the conquered territories with their inhabitants' *sibi populum magnum subiugauerunt*, showing their ethnic origin and the names of their leaders.⁶²

The attested demographic situation suggests a numerical evolution and indicates a continuity of habitation, especially in hilly regions and those on the plateau of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space in the early Middle Ages (the fifth–thirteenth centuries). This proves a sedentary lifestyle pursued the populations north of the Lower Danube and the preference of local and allogeneic populations for living in certain areas. Thus, the demographic advance of the population was directly influenced both by the geographical environment and the resources of these regions and by the political situation in the eighth–ninth centuries in Central and South-Eastern Europe, which caused displacements and resettlements of populations from one region to another.

The lack of written sources regarding the populations north of the Lower Danube has been partly compensated for by archaeological data. A numerical estimate of the population to the north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries is very hard to ascertain.⁶³ The analysis of demographic data with respect to those of the economic order can help in assessing the level of economic and social development reached by

57 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 179.

58 Gh. Postică, *Românii din codrii Moldovei în evul mediu timpuriu* (Chișinău, 1994), 10.

59 Fëdorov and Čebotarenko, *Pamjatniki drevnih slavjan*, 28–29.

60 Gh. Postică, "Satul medieval Ppha—argument al continuității românilor din Moldova," in *Procese etnoculturale și etnosociale la finele mileniului I î.e.n.—prima jumătate a mileniului I e.n. în sud-estul URSS și teritoriile limitrofe (27–28 noiembrie)* (Chișinău, 1991), 66–68.

61 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 18.

62 *Gesta Hungarorum*, IX. De pace inter duces et Ruhenos; XI. De ciuitatibus Lodomer et Galicia; XII. Quomodo Pannoniam intrauerunt; XV. De Camaro castro; XVII De Zerensze; XIX De duce bycoriensy; XX. Qualiter contra Byhor missum est; XXII De Nyr; XXIV. De terra ultra siluana; XXVI. Quomodo contra Gelu itum est and so on.

63 M. Rusu, Șt. Olteanu, R. Popa, and Z. Székely, "Situția etno-demografică în condițiile migrației slavilor, avarilor și bulgarilor," in *Istoria Românilor. Genezele românești*, 3 (București, 2001), 43.

the population in the studied region and historical period. Archaeological research in recent decades has gathered rich material that allows us to undertake a demographic assessment based on the number of discovered settlements and cemeteries. At the time of publication, there have been 2,595 archaeological points from the eighth–ninth centuries inventoried in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space (Table 1, Map 2). Out of the total number of registered sites to the north of the Lower Danube, there are 2,101 settlements (Map 3), ninety-one hillforts (Map 4), and eleven caves with remains from the eighth–ninth centuries (Maps 1, 2). At the same time, 389 sites with funerary discoveries were certified, out of which 221 are cemeteries, seventy-nine are graves, and eighty-nine are uncertain burial discoveries (Tables 2–6, Maps 4–5).⁶⁴ Out of the total number of certified sites, only about 20 per cent have been partly investigated, while the rest remain to be presumably the supposed settlements based on ceramic material discovered on the surface of the soil.

However, we can notice an increase in the number of sites and their typological diversification compared to the sixth–seventh centuries.⁶⁵ Thus, based on the principles of functionality and arrangement we can distinguish three types of settlements in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space in the eighth and the ninth centuries: settlements, hillforts, and mixed sites (hillforts and satellite settlements).⁶⁶

Settlements

The absolute majority of the settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries are not firm; these constitute over 90 per cent of the total, reflecting the rural character of habitation in the studied period and region (Table 1, Chart 1, Map 3).⁶⁷ The rural character of early medieval habitation is typical for most regions in Europe.⁶⁸ In the organization of a settlements, certain functional zones are distinguished—a space reserved for construction that is the main area of the settlement (central territory), and also a space for plant cultivation, pastures, meadows, and forests, falling in the settlement estate (out-of-village territory). If we have good archaeological data for the organization of settlements' main areas, for their economic spaces such data are practically absent, a fact for which we will address only regarding the issue of the internal organization of the space intended for residential and household activities.

64 The category of uncertain funerary findings includes the places where archaeological funerary objects were found, usually occasionally, that probably were part of the inventory of some graves from the seventh–eighth, the eighth–ninth, or the ninth–tenth centuries.

65 I. Corman, *Contribuții la istoria spațiului pruto-nistrilan în epoca evului mediu timpuriu (sec. V–VII d.Chr.)* (Chișinău, 1998), 9; Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 32; Gh. Postică, “Observații privind topografia și structura așezărilor medievale timpurii din spațiul pruto-nistrian,” *Tyragetia* 15 (2006): 64.

66 Postică, “Observații,” 60.

67 Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 32–33.

68 Jaubert, “Ruptures et continuités de l’habitat rural.”

Settlement Surface

One specific issue is the establishment of the size of settlements, which, due to the lack of comprehensive investigations at these sites, is difficult to assess. Based on the data at our disposal, we can ascertain that, in the eighth–ninth centuries, both the number of settlements and their surface areas increased when compared to previous centuries. Thus, if in the fifth–seventh centuries the area of settlements was, on average, about three hectares, those from the eighth–ninth centuries considerably outspanned a surface area of three to four hectares,⁶⁹ but the situation varied from one region to another, with some areas being over ten hectares (Molești-Râpa Adâncă—30.0 hectares, Gornea-Găunița de Sus—15 hectares) and so on.⁷⁰ The settlements at Calfa occupy an impressive surface area—120 ha.⁷¹ The site at Brănești—Valea Budă is 50.0 ha,⁷² at Hansca-Limbari-Căprăria—30.0 hectares,⁷³ at Logănești—40.0 hectares, and at Pohorniceni-Petruha—40.0 hectares. Černovka II *Rula* (the traces of over 160 constructions are distinguished)⁷⁴ are exceptions in this respect. After the collection of some data on the settlements to the east of the Carpathians, Dan Gh. Teodor estimates the surface of the settlements from the seventh–ninth centuries as being approximately 20 hectares,⁷⁵ a figure that, due to a lack of fully investigated settlements, cannot be generalized to either the east-Carpathian territories or for other areas to the north of the Lower Danube.

Settlement Structure

Based on partly or fully researched settlements, even if there are not very many of them, we can distinguish certain aspects of their internal organization. The structural elements of an early medieval settlement are constituted on the surface of the site, where residential constructions and household complexes, production areas, spaces for common activities and, in some cases, the territory assigned for the cemetery were located.⁷⁶ *Spaces for living.* The small number of major archaeological investigations within the analysed settlements does not allow us to discern the full picture regarding their internal structure. The data we have allow us to state that, in most cases, the homes

69 J. Némethi, *Repertoriul arheologic al zonei Careiului* (București, 1999), 28; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 163; I. G. Vlasenko, "Novye arheologičeskie pamjatniki v Moldavii," *AIM v 1981 g.* (1985): 200; A. V. Gudkova, S. B. Ohotnikov, L. V. Subbotin, and I. T. Černjakov, "Arheologičeskie pamjatniki Odesskoj oblasti (spravočnik)" (Odessa, 1991), 62.

70 Tentiuc, *Contribuții la istoria*, 128–34; Bejan, "Economia satului," 268; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 27; Postică, "Observații," 61.

71 Čebotarenko, *Kalfa*, 3–4.

72 Postică, "Observații," 61.

73 Postică, *Români*, 10.

74 B. O. Timoščuk, *Slovjani Pivničnoj Bukovini V–IX st.* (Kyiv, 1976), 167; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 179–80; I. P. Rusanova and B. A. Timoščuk, *Drevnerusskoe Podnestrov'e* (Užgorod, 1981), 42.

75 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 68.

76 Postică, "Observații," 62.

are concentrated in small groups, or “nests,” of two to three or four to five homes, situated at a certain distance from each other (Bezid-*Doborotvanya*, Mureș county, Biharea, Cefa, Cernat-*Roberrtag*, Covasna county, Comana de Jos-*Gruitul Fierului*, Brașov county, Filiaș-*Pământul Pădurii*, Harghita county, Hansca-*Limbari-Căprăria*, Hligeni-*La șant*, Ildia, Lazuri, Satu Mare county, Lăpușel-*Ciurgău*, Maramureș county, Ostrica-*Kodyn I*, Ostrica-*Kodyn II*, Popeni-*Pe pogor*, Cuceu-*Valea Bochii*, Sânnicolau Român-*Bereac*).⁷⁷ The appearance of larger “nests” of residential construction (five to six dwellings) in the eighth–ninth centuries would be either “a redeployment of some inhabitants within the settlement, or an addition of population coming from outside the community.”⁷⁸ In terms of an accurate chronological framework, the assessment of the synchronism of the dwellings and their respective organization within the settlement remain difficult problems to solve.⁷⁹

In some situations there is a difference between the planning of housing in a single row, as in the case of the settlements Biharea-*Baraj*, Bihor county, Cristuru Secuiesc-*Valea Caldă* and *Poala Bradului*, Harghita county, Dodești-*Călugăreasca*, Vaslui county,⁸⁰ Eliseni-*Poala Văii Fânului*, Harghita county, Iernut-*La Biserică*, Mureș county, Poian-*Culmea Pietroasă*, Covasna county, Simonești-*Sub Stejari*, Harghita county,⁸¹ Červonoarmejskoe-*Valul lui Traian*, and Suvorovo II-*Nord*,⁸² or in two rows, as in the settlement Etulia-*vest*.⁸³ The location of the dwellings depended very much on the particularities of the relief. In the settlements at Raškov, for example, the dwellings were located along a river bank⁸⁴ and at Šabo the constructions do not extend along the firth, but are instead perpendicular to it.⁸⁵

In the following lines we will present a few examples of the number and location of residential constructions. In the settlement of *Izvoare-Bahna-La-Pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, twenty-three dwellings and two fireplaces from the eighth–ninth centuries were discovered, which largely overlap over those of the sixth–seventh centuries.⁸⁶ The dwellings are arranged unevenly, and in some cases, some alignments on the contour line can be noticed. Some residential constructions are concentrated in nests, as in

77 Bejan, *Banatul*, 93; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 27; O. Dulea, “Considerații privind locuirea în Banat și Transilvania în secolele VII–VIII d. Hr. (I. Așezări),” *AB* 9 (2002): 209; Postică, “Observații,” 74. D. Băcuet-Crișan, *Așezările medievale timpurii de la Popeni-“Pe Pogor” și Cuceu-“Valea Bochii” (județul Sălaj)* (Zalău: Editura Lektos, 2006); D. Băcuet-Crișan, *Așezările din secolele VII–IX de pe cursul superior și mijlociu al râurilor Barcău și Crasna* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Porolissum, 2007).

78 Postică, “Observații,” 65.

79 Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 234.

80 D. Gh. Teodor, *Continuitatea populației autohtone la est de Carpați în secolele VI–XI e.n.* (Iași, 1984), 51, fig. 21.

81 Cosma, “Considerații,” 263; Dulea, “Considerații,” 209.

82 Smilenko and Kozlovskij, “Srednevekovye,” 75–76.

83 Čebotarenko and Ščerbakova, “Raskopki poselenija,” 146.

84 Ja. V. Baran, *Poselenija Raškiv I na Dnistri*, in *Pivdenorus’ke selo IX–XIII sm.* (Kyiv, 1997).

85 Smilenko and Kozlovskij, “Poselenija u sel Šabo,” 98.

86 I. Mitrea, *Așezarea din secolele VI–IX de la Izvoare-Bahna. Realități arheologice și concluzii istorice* (Piatra Neamț, 1998), 46; Mitrea, *Din arheologia*, 218–20.

the case of L1–L5, L27, and L29–L33, which could have belonged to groups of related families.⁸⁷ The author of the discoveries estimated that the population of the settlement was approximately 100–125 inhabitants, noting the fact that not all the dwellings were contemporary, estimating in this way the synchronic existence of approximately ten to twelve dwellings and/or families. Based on archaeological data, I. Mitrea believes that the settlement from the sixth–seventh centuries consisted of twenty-eight to thirty-two people, and in the eighth–ninth centuries, there was a virtual doubling of the number of inhabitants, with the settlement reaching forty to sixty inhabitants.⁸⁸ Attempts to estimate the demographic situation in some settlements and regions are often subject to a very large margin of error.⁸⁹

In the settlement at Hansca-*Limbari-Căprăria*, twenty-two dwellings from the eighth century, grouped in ten nests, and seventeen from the ninth century, concentrated in eight nests, were discovered. Eight of the housing groups from the eighth century overlap those from the fifth–seventh centuries and only two had occurred in previously uninhabited areas. In five out of the ten nests from the eighth century the dwellings were grouped by twos, once in threes, and once in fives, and in three cases there was a single construction. A group of five homes and another group of six were new appearances in the eighth and the ninth century respectively.⁹⁰

In the settlement at Rașkov-*Levada*, they investigated eighty dwellings from the seventh–eighth centuries, out of which fifteen from the seventh century, thirty-four from the eighth century, and thirty-one from the ninth century. Nests of dwellings from the eighth century are superimposed on the inhabited areas from the previous century (six nests) and two nests were newly built. Thus, in two out of eight cases, three and four dwellings and in one case from two to seven dwellings are concentrated. The houses from the ninth century are superimposed over the surfaces from the eighth century, to which two other new nests of dwellings were added.⁹¹

The situation registered in the settlements at Hansca-*Limbari-Căprăria*, Rașkov-*Levada*, and so on shows that their inhabitants used the settlement for a long time, proving continuity of habitation and a propensity of the human population to settle certain geographic areas.

In the settlement at Ilidia the dwellings were concentrated in nests by four to six constructions,⁹² and in each nest, there were free spaces, probably intended for farming. In the settlement at Dodești-*Călugăreasca*, Vaslui county, the dwellings were arranged in two curved rows, each having a free space, and in the space between the dwellings vaulted ovens were placed.⁹³

87 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 88, fig. 5.

88 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 95.

89 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 69; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 22–31; Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 33.

90 Postică, “Observații,” 65.

91 Baran, *Poselennja Rașkiv I*.

92 Bejan, *Banatul*, 93.

93 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 51, fig. 21.

Dan Gh. Teodor estimated an average of approximately forty to fifty dwellings for the settlements to the east of the Carpathians throughout the early Middle Ages,⁹⁴ specifying that the dwellings from the eighth–ninth centuries were “grouped by 3–4 or even more, based on family, sometimes strung along the streets.”⁹⁵ For the eighth–ninth centuries, the number of constructions varies from case to case.⁹⁶ The assessments of the size of settlements, the number of dwellings, and the inhabitants must be made very carefully, though, because these settlements, in most cases, are only partially investigated and the discovered dwellings could have belonged to any of several phases of habitation.⁹⁷

Typically, near these dwellings, a number of auxiliary and production buildings were placed, which indicates the existence of some organized housekeeping units or some centres of production within a single settlement.

Spaces for storing provisions. In a series of settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries, they discovered pits for diverse purposes (either for waste or supplies) near the dwellings, out of which the constructions for storing provisions stand out. Pits for supplies were concentrated around the dwellings or arranged in a linear fashion in rows around the dwellings, such as those at *Hansca-Limbari-Căprărie*, *Hlijeni-Cetățuie*, *Lăpușel-Ciugău*, *Pepeni-Cuceu*, *Rășkov-Levada*, *Trebujeni-Scoc*, *Porț-La baraj*, and so on. Usually, around a house, one to three supply pits are to be found, and in some cases up to four or five pits. In some settlements, the pits were arranged in special places, as were the forty-one pits from the settlement of *Hlijeni-Cetățuie*.⁹⁸

Production spaces. In close proximity to the dwellings, in the spare space between them, or at the edge of the settlement, these had certified premises used for economic purposes, in which workshops and ovens with various handicrafts purposes were arranged. In the settlements at *Černovka*, *Gornea-Zomonite*, *Izvoare-Bahna-La pod la Hărmănești*, *Lozna-Botoșani*, *Remetea Mare-Gomila lui Pituș*, and *Sânnicolau Român-Bereac*, among others, workshops were discovered, and in the settlements

⁹⁴ Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 14, 17, 21, 23, 25.

⁹⁵ Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 23.

⁹⁶ Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 153; Olteanu et al., “Modul de viață ane,” 73; Șt. Olteanu, E. Zaharia, M. Rusu, and Șt. Pascu, “Evoluția structurilor sociale (accentuarea diferențelor sociale; stadiul raporturilor de aservire),” in *Istoria Românilor. Genezele românești*, ed. Șt. Pascu and R. Theodorescu, 3 (București, 2001), 214; Cosma, “Considerații,” 264.

⁹⁷ To illustrate the diversity of image regarding the number of discovered houses in some settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries in the north of the Lower Danube, I present below other examples to those mentioned above. In the settlements from Bragadiru—17, Bucov—16 houses, Comana de Jos-Gruicul Fierului, Brașov county—33, Dăbâca, Țaga, Dodești—20 houses, Dodești, Vaslui county—12 houses, Dridu—30, Lozna, Botoșani county—43, Filiași, Harghita county—48, Cornea, Caraș-Severin county—7, Gornea-Căunița de Sus—11, Spinoasa, Iași county—12, Tiszafüred-Morotvapart, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok megye, Hungary—16 and so on.

⁹⁸ N. V. Gol'ceva and M. T. Kašuba, *Glinžen' II, Mnogoslojnyj pamjatnik Srednego Podnestrov'ja* (Tiraspol', 1995).

at Panic-La *blocuri*, Remetea-Gomila lui Pituț, Gornea-Țărmuri,⁹⁹ Hansca-Limbari-Căprăria, Trebujeni-Scoc, and others, stoves used by local craftsmen for metal and bone working, pottery, and so on were identified.

Spaces for common activities. In some settlements a spare space between dwellings could be seen, such as in the case of Dodești-Călugăreasca, Vaslui county, where the dwellings are arranged in two rows around a “central square,”¹⁰⁰ which can suggest that this place was designed for certain social, cultural, and religious activities for the community. In the settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries at Alcedar, Hansca, traces of wells were discovered (wooden beams being placed horizontally) meant to supply the inhabitants with drinking water.¹⁰¹ However, the data available today in this regard are too modest to distinguish the place and the role of spaces for common activities within the settlement. *Sacred spaces.* The discovery of cemeteries and religious buildings within these sites from the eighth–ninth centuries allows us to distinguish certain areas as being for special purposes, for pursuing sacred traditions characteristic of the communities to the north of the Lower Danube.

Cemeteries were usually located on one of the edges of the settlement. In Černovka the cemetery is located near the settlement,¹⁰² and in Revno it is placed on a high promontory within an early medieval settlement near the hillfort Revno I B.¹⁰³ The early medieval cemetery at Hansca is composed of two sectors, one in the southeastern area of the settlement and the other in the western area. The tombs from the first sector are chronologically placed in the ninth–twelfth centuries¹⁰⁴ and those from the second sector in the twelfth–fourteenth centuries.¹⁰⁵ In Calfa the dead were buried next to or between the residential constructions.¹⁰⁶ The likelihood that these tombs were part of a larger cemetery remains low, as does the contemporaneity correlation between graves and the habitation.

On the territory of northern Bukovina, they discovered, besides cemeteries, a number of buildings with a religious character—shrines, sacred complexes, and even hillforts-sanctuaries. In Revno, the sanctuary was located within an settlement,¹⁰⁷ but

⁹⁹ Bejan, “Economia,” 280.

¹⁰⁰ Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 137.

¹⁰¹ Postică, “Observații,” 66.

¹⁰² L. P. Mihajlina, *Naselennja verhn’ogo Poprutnja VIII–X st.* (Černivci, 1997), 73–74; Ol’ga Manigda, “Mogil’niki Severnoj Bukoviny (v kontekste evoljucii ot jazyčestva do hristianstva),” *Analele ANTIM* 2 (2001): 47.

¹⁰³ Mihajlina, *Naselennja verhn’ogo Poprutnja*, 70–72; Manigda, “Mogil’niki Severnoj Bukoviny,” 47.

¹⁰⁴ I. G. Hynku, *Kapraria-pamjatnik kul’tury X–XII vv.* (Kišinev: Știința, 1973), 49.

¹⁰⁵ I. G. Hynku, *Limbari–srednevekovyi mogil’nik XII–XIV vekov v Moldavii* (Kišinev, 1970), 65–66.

¹⁰⁶ Čebotarenko, *Kalfa*, 73–75.

¹⁰⁷ Timoščuk, *Slovjani Pivničnoj Bukovini V–IX st.* 65–72, 162–63; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 173.

in Ržavinci II-*Hrinova*¹⁰⁸ and Gorbova I-*Cetate*¹⁰⁹ one sacred complex was discovered in each, and these were integral parts of the hillforts-sanctuaries.

Hillforts

Together with settlements, hillforts also appeared in the eighth–ninth centuries in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space, and these represent a special type of human settlement. The problem of hillforts with earth walls and wooden palisades provided externally with adjacent trenches has been widely debated in the historiography of the socialist period in Romania¹¹⁰ and the USSR,¹¹¹ however, a synthetic work on this subject

108 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani*, 164; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 156, fig. 21.

109 B. O. Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina—zemlja slov'jans'ka* (Užgorod, 1969), 152, 153; Timoščuk, *Slov'jans'ki gradi Pivničnoj Bukovini* (Užgorod, 1975), 106; Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj Bukovini*, 89–90, 149; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 166, fig. 54/B.

110 M. Rusu, “Castrum, urbs, civitas (Cetăți și “orașe” transilvănene din sec. IX–XIII),” *AMN* 8 (1971); Rusu, “Cetățile transilvănene din secolele IX–XI și importanța lor istorică,” *Ziridava* 10 (1978); Rusu, “Castrul roman Apulum și cetatea feudală Alba Iulia,” *AIIC* 22 (1979); Rusu, “Cetățile Aradului,” *Ziridava* 12 (1980); M. Rusu and Ș. Dănilă, “Cetatea feudală timpurie de la Șirioara,” *FI* 2 (1972); R. Heitel, “Unele considerații privind civilizația din bazinul carpatic în cursul celei de-a doua jumătăți a secolului al IX-lea în lumina izvoarelor arheologice,” *SCIVA* 34 (1983); K. Horedt, “Voievodatul de la Bălgrad-Alba Iulia,” *SCIV* 5 (1954); Horedt, *Siebenbürgen im Frühmittelalter* (Bonn, 1986); P. Iambor, “Donjonul Cetății Dăbîca,” *AMN* 22 (1984); Iambor and Șt. Matei, “Cetatea feudală timpurie de la Cluj-Mănăștur,” *AIIC* 18 (1975); Iambor and Șt. Matei, “Incinta fortificată de la Cluj-Mănăștur (sec. IX–XIV),” *AMN* 16 (1979); D. Gh. Teodor, “Așezări întărite din regiunile est-carpătice ale României în secolele VIII–XI,” *Hierasus* 1 (1978); Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 70–72; M. Petrescu-Dîmboviță and D. Gh. Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații medievale timpurii la est de Carpați. Așezarea de la Fundu Herții (jud. Botoșani)* (Iași, 1987).

111 G. B. Fëdorov, “Slavjane Podnestrov'ja (K itogam rabot Slavjano-Dnestrovskoj ekspedicii v 1951 g.) (Raskopki Ekimauckogo gorodišča IX–XI vv. i pamjatnikov kul'tury ‘polej pogrebenij’),” *VAN SSSR* 2 (1952); Fëdorov, “Slavjanskije gorodišča v Moldavii (k itogam rabot Moldavskoj arheologičeskoj ekspedicii v 1952 g.),” *VAN SSSR* 4 (1953); Fëdorov, “Gorodišče Ekimaucy (Raboty Slavjano-Dnestrovskoj ekspedicii v 1951 g.),” *KSIIIMK* 50 (1953); Fëdorov, “Naselenie”; Fëdorov, “Drevnerusskij gorod na Dnestre (po materialam raskopok Alčedarskogo poselenija. Rezinskij rajon MSSR),” *VAN SSSR* 10 (1960); Fëdorov, “Posad Ekimauckogo poselenija,” in *Kul'tura Drevnei Rusi* (Moskva, 1966); Fëdorov, “Drevnerusskaja kul'tura Podnestrov'ja,” in *DKM* (Kišinev, 1974); G. B. Fëdorov and L. L. Polevoj, “Material'naja kul'tura rannih slavjan v Karpato-Dunajskih zemljah (VI–IX vv. n. è.),” in *Slavjane i Rus'* (Moskva, 1968); Fëdorov and Čebotarenko, *Pamjatniki drevnih slavjan*; Čebotarenko, “Gorodišče Kalfa (po materialam raskopok 1959 g.),” in *Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii i etnografii Moldavskoj SSR* (Kišinev, 1964); Čebotarenko, *Kalfa—gorodišče*; M. V. Malevskaja, A. Rappoport and B. A. Timoščuk, “Raskopki na Lenkoveckom poselenii v 1967 godu,” *SA* 4 (1970); P. A. Rappoport, “Zametki o datirovke nekotoryh tipov gotodišč Podnestrov'ja,” in *KSIA* 47 (1952); Rappoport, “O tipologii drevnerusskij poselenij,” *KSIIIMK* 110 (1967); B. A. Timoščuk, “Slavjanskije poselenija IX–X vv. na territorii Severnoj Bukoviny,” *KSIIIMK* 53 (1954); Timoščuk, “Drevnerusskije poselenija Severnoj Bukoviny,” *KSIIIMK* 57 (1955); Timoščuk, “Lenkovickoe drevnerusskoe gorodišče,” *SA* 4 (1959); Timoščuk, “Oboronitel'nyj val XII–XIII vv. Lenkoveckogo gorodišča,” *KSIA* 110 (1967);

has not yet been completed.¹¹² Although few hillforts have been excavated, I registered and mapped ninety-one hillforts in this book (Table 1, Chart 1, Maps 3, 4a).

A series of hillforts (or presumably fortified structures) with ramparts and earth ditches in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space dating from the end of the first millennium or the beginning of the second millennium overlap with ancient hillforts from the fourth–third centuries BC, and in several cases with those from the Eneolithic era. The hillforts that appeared in open places have rarely been documented and have a specific form—circular—such as is the case for the hillforts at Alcedar, Șoldănești rayon, Echimăuți-*Cetățuie*, Rezina rayon,¹¹³ and so on.

In the case of the sites located on the surface hillforts with an older level of housing, where archaeological excavations have not been undertaken, it is risky to ascribe traces of the defense lines to the early medieval period only on the basis of the material found on the soil surface, such as in the case of the hillforts at Albești-*La Cetățeaua*, Mureș county,¹¹⁴ Bixad-*Cetatea Văpa*, Covasna county,¹¹⁵ Breaza-*La Cetate*,

Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj Bukovini*; Timoščuk, "Drevnerusskie goroda Severnoj Bukoviny," in *Drevnerusskie goroda* (Moskva, 1981); Timoščuk, *Davn'orus'ka Bukovina (X-perša polovina XIV st.)* (Kyiv, 1982); Timoščuk, "Ob arheologičeskikh priznakah vostočnoslavjanskih gorodišč-svjatilišč," in *Drevnie slavjane i Kievskaja Rus'* (Kiev, 1989); Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*; Timoščuk, *Vostočnye slavjane: ot obščiny k gorodam* (Moskva, 1995); B. A. Timoščuk and I. P. Rusanova, "Vtoroe Zbručkoe (Krutilovskoe) svjatilisče," in *Drevnosti slavjan i Rusi* (Moskva, 1988); Rusanova and Timoščuk, *Drevnerusskoe Podnestrov'e*; Rusanova and Timoščuk, *Jazyčeskie svjatilisča drevnih slavjan* (Moskva, 1993); L. P. Mihajlina and B. A. Timoščuk, "Slavjanskije pamjatniki basejna Verhnego Pruta VIII–X vv.," in *Slavjane na Dnestre i Dunae* (Kiev, 1983).

112 I. G. Hynku, *Drevnejšie pamâtniki rodnogo kraja (gorodiša central'noj Moldovy)* (Kișinev, 1992); I. Gh. Hîncu, *Cetăți antice și medievale timpurii din Republica Moldova* (Chișinău, 1993); Hîncu, *Vetre strămoșești din Republica Moldova* (Chișinău, 2003); C. Cosma, "Fortificații din secolele X–XI din Vestul și nord-vestul. Considerații privind stadiul actual al cercetărilor," *AMP* 13 (2000); I. P. Rusanova, *Istoki slavjanskogo jazyčestva. Kul'tovye sooruzenija Central'noj i Vostočnoj Evropy v I tys. do n.é.–I tys. n.é.* (Černovcy, 2002); P. Iambor, "Contribuții la istoria unor așezări fortificate din Banat (sec. IX–XIV)," *PB* 1 (2002); Iambor, *Așezări fortificate din Transilvania (sec. IX–XIII)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2005); A. A. Rusu, "Arheologia, cronologia și interpretarea istorică a unor cetăți medievale timpurii din Transilvania de est," *Crisia* 24 (1994); Rusu, *Castelarea carpatică. Fortificații și cetăți din Transilvania și teritoriile învecinate (sec. XIII–XIV)* (Cluj-Napoca, 2005); I. M. Țiplic, "Considerații cu privire la liniile întărite de tipul prisăcilor din Transilvania (sec. IX–XIII)," *ATS* 1 (2002); Țiplic, "Hotar, graniță și/sau frontieră în evul mediu timpuriu," *ATS* 2 (2003); Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 37–42.

113 Fëdorov, "Slavjanskije gorodišča," Fëdorov, "Naselenie," 280, no. 14; I. G. Hynku, *Arheologičeskie pamjatniki g. Kișinev* (Kișinev, 1987), 51–54.

114 Gh. Baltag, "Date pentru un studiu arheologic al zonei municipiului Sighișoara," in *Marisia* 9 (1979), 101, 103, Cosma, "Considerații," 274; Gh. Baltag, "Considerații generale privind așezarea de la Sighișoara-Albești. Noi elemente inedite în cultura materială din sec. VIII–X d. Hr.," *Marisia* 26 (2000): 169–86; Gh. Baltag, "Așezări și tipuri de locuințe din bazinul Târnavei Mari între sec. III–X d. Hr.," *RB* 18 (2004): 167, no. 1/c.

115 I. Ferenczi and M. Petică, "Cercetări de topografie arheologică în județul Mureș (pt. a II-a)," *AMN* 20 (1983): 113.

Braşov county,¹¹⁶ Buhalniţa-Cetăţuia, Iaşi county,¹¹⁷ Dealu-Cetăţii, Harghita county,¹¹⁸ Eremitu-Cetatea Vitial, Mureş county,¹¹⁹ Praid-Cetatea Rabşonne, Harghita county,¹²⁰ Racu-Cetatea Păgănilor, Harghita county,¹²¹ Victoria-Şanţual Catarinei, Botoşani county,¹²² or the hillforts from Chernivtsi region, Ukraine-Belaja-Carina, Kicman' rayon,¹²³ Gorişnie Şirovcy VII-Toloaka, Zastavna rayon,¹²⁴ Goroşevcev-Červonyi Gorb, Zastavna rayon,¹²⁵ Korostovata III-Zamka, Kicman' rayon,¹²⁶ Verhnie Stanovcy-Gorodişte, Kicman' rayon,¹²⁷ Voloka-Gorodişte, Hliboka rayon,¹²⁸ and so on (Maps 4, 4a).

This situation relates to all those hillforts to the north of the Lower Danube assigned chronologically based only on materials discovered on the surface. In the last six to seven decades a series of hillforts, hypothetically dating from the early medieval period, entered the scientific circuit by various publications. These have not yet been investigated archaeologically, however. As examples of such are the settlements at Baranca-La Cetăţuie, Botoşani county,¹²⁹ Coronini-Culă, Caraş-Severin county,¹³⁰ Cuzdroara, Cluj county,¹³¹ Dridu-La Metereze, Ilfov county,¹³² Dumestii Vechi, Vaslui

116 I. Ciupea, "Observații asupra toponimiei și antroponimiei Țării Fgăraşului (I)," *AMN* 24–25 (1987–1988): 295.

117 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 60, no. 131.

118 Ferenczi and Petică, "Cercetări," 113.

119 Ferenczi and Petică, "Cercetări," 113–14.

120 I. Ferenczi and M. Petică "Cercetări de topografie arheologică în județul Mureş (partea I-a)," *AMN* 19 (1982): 567.

121 Ferenczi and Petică, "Cercetări de topografie," 113.

122 A. Păunescu, P. Şadurschi, and V. Chirica, *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Botoşani*, 1 and 2 (Bucureşti, 1976), 56, no. 29; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 166–67.

123 Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina*, 145–46; Timoščuk, *Davn'orus'ka Bukovina*, 155–58; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 96–97, 146, fig. 36/G.

124 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 149, fig. 48/A.

125 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 154, fig. 49/B, E.

126 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 159, fig. 11/B.

127 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 146, fig. 45/B, G.

128 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 149, fig. 47/B.

129 Păunescu et al., *Repertoriul arheologic*, 150–51, no. XXXII.3.A (1); Teodor, "Aşezări întărite," 198.

130 Şt. Matei and I. Uzum, "Cetatea de la Pescari," *Banatica* 2 (1973): 146–47; Şt. Matei, "Fortificațiile pe teritoriul Banatului în lumina izvoarelor scrise," *Banatica* 5 (1979): 256; L. Mărghitan, *Banatul (secolele VII–XII e.n.)*, 3 (Timișoara, 1985), 100–3; A. Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice la cunoașterea așezărilor rurale românești databile în secolele VIII–IX din sud-vestul României," *AMN* 22–23 (1985–1986): 232, 238; Ţeicu, *Banatul montan*, 200; M. Mare, *Banatul între secolele IV–IX* (Timișoara, 2004), 166, no. 64/2.

131 I. Berciu, "Descoperiri din epoca feudală timpurie în raionul Alba Iulia," *MCA* 4 (1957): 335.

132 Păunescu and Rența, "Așezarea medevală timpurie," 58, 62; E.-M. Constantinescu, "Aspecte privind evoluția nord-estului Munteniei în secolele II–XI d. Hr. Considerații bazate pe analiza unor descoperiri fortuite din județul Buzău," *Mousaios* 5 (1999): 215, no. 48:a, b.

county,¹³³ Ghilănești-*Velniță 1*, Botoșani county,¹³⁴ Ghinești, Mureș county,¹³⁵ Gilău, Cluj county,¹³⁶ Horodiștea-*În Bâtcă*, Botoșani county,¹³⁷ Ibănești-*Valea Merilor*, Vaslui county,¹³⁸ Ildia-*La Cetate*, Caraș-Severin county,¹³⁹ Laz-*Cetatea de Ilemn*, Alba county,¹⁴⁰ Medieșu Aurit, Satu Mare county,¹⁴¹ Mogoșești-*Dealului Bățului*, Iași county,¹⁴² Ocland-*Cetatea Cuștai*, Harghita county,¹⁴³ Oroftiana-*Cetatea Sașilor*, Botoșani county,¹⁴⁴ Ortelec-*Cetate*, Sălaj county,¹⁴⁵ Poiana cu Cetate-*La Cetate*, Iași county,¹⁴⁶ Porumbenii Mici-*Galath*, Harghita county, Sebiș-*Bălhrad*, Arad county,¹⁴⁷ Lișna-*Cetatea Sașilor* or *Leșilor*, Botoșani county,¹⁴⁸ Șendriceni-*La Cariere*, Botoșani county,¹⁴⁹ Șimleu Silvaniei-*Observator*, Sălaj county,¹⁵⁰ Tudora-*La Ocup*, Botoșani

133 Teodor, "Așezări întărite," 208; S. Ștefănescu, "Cercetări arheologice și istorice în zona mediană a bazinului superior al râului Bârlad," *AMM* 15–20 (1993–1998): 186.

134 P. Șadurschi, "Rezultatele sondajului arheologic de la Ghilănești-Botoșani (1989)," *Hierasus* 9 (1989), 169; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 93, no. 319.

135 K. Horedt, "Ceramica slavă din Transilvania," *SCIV* 2 (1951), 158.

136 M. Rusu, "Cercetări arheologice la Gilău," *MCA* 2 (1956): 700; Horedt, *Siebenbürgen*, 104.

137 D. Gh. Teodor, "Unele probleme privind evoluția culturii materiale din Moldova în secolele VI–X," *Carpica* 2 (1969): 256–57; Teodor, "Așezări întărite," 198; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 103, no. 372, 373; Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 239–40.

138 Teodor, "Așezări întărite," 208; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 106, no. 389; G. Coman, "Noi cercetări arheologice cu privire la secolele V–XI în partea de sud a Moldovei," *AMN* 1 (1979): 75.

139 E. Iaroslavschi and Gh. Lazarovici, "Vestigii arheologice din bazinul Carașului," *AMN* 16 (1979): 457; Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 231, 237.

140 Berciu, "Descoperiri din epoca feudală timpurie," 336–42.

141 S. Dumitrașcu, "Săpăturile arheologice din anul 1970 la Medieșu Aurit–Castel," *Crisia* 4 (1974), 101–6; Cosma, "Fortificații," 470–71, no. 6.

142 Teodor, "Unele probleme privind evoluția culturii," 256–57; Teodor, "Așezări întărite," 208; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 118, no. 458.

143 G. Ferenczi and I. Ferenczi, "Observații de topografie arheologică în partea superioară a Depresiunii Homoroadelor (jud. Harghita) între anii 1957–1978," *AMN* 16 (1979): 418–19.

144 Teodor, "Așezări întărite," 198; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 124, no. 497.

145 Matei, "Fortificațiile," 482–83; Cosma, "Considerații," 275.

146 Teodor, "Unele probleme," 256–57; Teodor, "Așezări întărite," 198; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 130–31, no. 535.

147 Șt. Matei and P. Iambor, "Observații privind așezările fortificate din Transilvania în perioada feudalismului timpuriu," *AMN* 17 (1980): 508; Cosma, "Fortificații din secolele X–XI," 476, no. 12; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 227, no. 188.

148 Păunescu et al., *Repertoriul arheologic*, 243, no. LIV.4.B (1).

149 Păunescu et al., 1 *Repertoriul arheologic*, 252, no. LVI.1.Hși LVI.1.I; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 150, no. 654.

150 Matei, "Fortificațiile," 485; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 232–33, no. 197–98; C. Cosma and A. Gudea, *Habitat und Gesellschaft im Westen und Nordwesten Rumäniens in den 8.–10. Jahrhunderten n. Chr.* (Cluj-Napoca, 2002), 119, no. 83 (148–49).

county,¹⁵¹ Ungra, Braşov county,¹⁵² Vârghiş, Covasna county,¹⁵³ and so on (Map 4). In the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, the situation is similar, as a number of hillforts have been chronologically assigned to the early Middle Ages only on the basis of surface research. Examples of these are the sites at Rudi-*La Trei Cruci*, Soroca rayon,¹⁵⁴ Inundeni-*Cetăţuia*, Soroca rayon,¹⁵⁵ Temeleuţi-*Cetăţuie*, Camenca rayon,¹⁵⁶ Snjačev-*Palanka-Okopy*, Storoženec region, Chernivtsi region,¹⁵⁷ Nagoren'-*Mogila*, Kel'menci region, Chernivtsi region,¹⁵⁸ and so on (Maps 3, 4a).

The analysis of such sites must be conducted carefully in order to exclude errors in their chronological and cultural classification, and the realization of typology regarding defence systems should be based solely on archaeological excavations.

Extensive investigations are very few and fully researched hillforts are the exception. The best-known hillforts from Romania, the Republic of Moldova, and Ukraine are the sites at Fundu Herţii-*La Reduţă*, Botoşani county,¹⁵⁹ Alcedar-*Cetăţuie*, Şoldăneşti rayon,¹⁶⁰ Calfa-*Cetăţuie*, Anenii Noi rayon,¹⁶¹ Echimăuţi-*Cetăţuie*, Rezina rayon,¹⁶² Hligeni-*La Şant*, Şoldăneşti rayon,¹⁶³ Dobrynovcy II-*Toloaka*, Zastavna rayon,¹⁶⁴ Lomacincy-*Okopy*, Sokirjansk rayon,¹⁶⁵

151 Păunescu et al., *Repertoriul arheologic*, 278, no. LXI.1.A (1); Teodor, "Aşezări întărite," 198; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 158, no. 698.

152 A. Stoia, "Les fouilles archéologiques en Roumanie (1979)," *Dacia N.S.* 24 (1980): 368, no. 139; R. Popa and R. Ştefănescu, "Şantierul arheologic Ungra, jud. Braşov," *MCA* 14 (1980): 496–503.

153 *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Covasna*, Seria Monografiilor Arheologice 1, ed. V. Căvruc (Sfântu Gheroghe, 1998), 158.

154 *Svod pamjatnikov istorii i kul'tury Moldavskoj SSR. Severnaja zona. Maket*, ed. N. Demčenko (Kişinev: Ştiinca, 1987), 219.

155 Hîncu, *Cetăţi antice şi medievale*, 112.

156 *Svod pamjatnikov istorii i kul'tury*, 377.

157 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 175, fig. 60/B; 178.

158 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 159; 1990, 162, fig. 52/B; M. P. Kučera, "Istorična geografija shidnoslov'jans'kih plemen miž Sanom ta Dniprom za danimi gorodišč VIII–X st.," in *Etnokul'turni procesi v Pivdenno-Shidnij Evropi v I tisjačolitti n.e.* (Kyiv-L'viv, 1999), 100–1.

159 Teodor, "Unele probleme," 256–57; Teodor, "Aşezări întărite," 199–201; M. Andronic, "Cultura materială din secolele VIII–X din Teritoriul," *Suceava* 26–27–28 (1999–2000–2001, 2001), 239–40.

160 AKM 6, 78–85, no. 269; Hîncu, *Cetăţi antice*, 124–25.

161 Čebotarenko, *Kalfa—gorodišče*; AKM 6, 45–46.

162 Fëdorov, "Slavjanskije gorodišča"; Fëdorov, "Naselenie," 280, no. 14.

163 Fëdorov, "Naselenie," 278; Hîncu, *Cetăţi antice*, 128–29; N. Golţeva, "Consideraţii preliminare asupra stratigrafiei cultural-cronologice a cetăţuiei Hlijeni II," *AMNIM* 2 (1992): 188–89; Gol'ceva and Kaşuba, *Glinžen' II*.

164 Timoščuk, *Slov'jans'ki gradi*, 43–71, 107; Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 74–78, 152–54; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 40, 92, 156, fig. 15/A; fig. 16, fig. 34/B.

165 Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina*, 59; Timoščuk, *Slov'jans'ki gradi*, 25–43; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 32, 162, fig. 12/B.

Revno I-*Gorodišče*, Kicman' rayon,¹⁶⁶ Revno II-*Carina*, Kicman' rayon,¹⁶⁷ and Slon-*La Ciugă*, Prahova county¹⁶⁸ (Maps 4, 4a).

Some hillforts have benefited from partial investigations, which are equally important in researching early medieval defence systems north of the Lower Danube. These include hillforts in Romania at Dersca-*În Pisc*, Botoșani county,¹⁶⁹ Alba Iulia, Alba county,¹⁷⁰ *Dăbâca-Cetate*, Cluj county,¹⁷¹ *Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului*, Hunedoara county,¹⁷² *Moigrad-Porolissum-Dealul Cămin*, Sălaj county,¹⁷³ *Șirioara-Râtul Șiriorii*, Bistrița-Năsăud county,¹⁷⁴ *Tăuți-Dealul Rujelor*, Alba county,¹⁷⁵ and *Vladimiresu-La Cetate*, Arad county.¹⁷⁶ From the Republic of Moldova—*Răciula*, Călărași rayon,¹⁷⁷ *Rudi-Farfuria Turcească*, Soroca rayon,¹⁷⁸

166 B. O. Timoščuk, "Rozvidki v basenji r. Prutu," *AP URSR* 3 (1952): 415; Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 161–62, fig. 67; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 37–38, 114, 172, fig. 25/A, fig. 38/A, B, fig. 173, fig. 14.

167 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 65–72, 162–63; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 73.

168 M. Comșa, "Cercetările de la Slon și importanța lor pentru studiul formării relațiilor feudale la sud de Carpați," *SMPTIP* 2 (1969); Comșa, "Cetatea de lemn din secolele VIII–IX de la Slon-Prahova," *MN* 5 (1981); Comșa, "Raport preliminar asupra săpăturilor executate la Slon (jud. Prahova)," *MCA* 15 (1983).

169 Păunescu et al. *Repertoriul arheologic*, 107; *Repertoriul Arheologic al județului Botoșani*, ed. Al. Păunescu, V. Șadurschi, and Chirica, vols. 1 and 2 (București, 1976), 108, no. XVIII.1.F.

170 *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Alba*, in *Biblioteca Musei Apulensis*, 2 (Alba Iulia, 1995), 36, no. 6:13, b.

171 *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj*, I. H. Crișan, M. Bărbulescu, E. Chirilă, V. Vasiliev, and I. Winkler, editor *Muzeul de Istorie a Transilvaniei*, *BMN* 5 (Cluj-Napoca, 1992): 174–77, no. 71.

172 T. Mariș, "Cercetările arheologice de la Hunedoara," *MCA* 17 (1992): 51, 55.

173 Matei, "Fortificațiile," 479; Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 233; Cosma, "Fortificații," 471–72n7; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 201, no. 119.

174 Rusu, "Castrum, urbs, civitas," 200; Rusu and Dănilă, "Cetatea feudală," 47; Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 233; C. Gaiu, "Așezări din secolele V–VI p. Chr. în Transilvania de nord-est," *RB* 17 (2003): 113–14, no. 50.

175 E. D. Pădureanu, "Contribuții la repertoriul arheologic de pe Valea Mureșului Inferior și a Crișului Alb," *Crisia* 15 (1985): 40; Pădureanu, "Noi fortificații pe teritoriul județului Arad," *Ziridava* 15–16 (1987): 33; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 233–34, no. 202.

176 S. Dumitrașcu, "Ceramica românească descoperită în Crișana (sec. VIII–XI)," *Crisia* 8 (1978): 66; M. Zdroba and M. Barbu, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Felnac și Vladimirescu (rapoarte preliminare)," *Ziridava* 5 (1976): 51–53, no. 2; M. Barbu, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Arad-Vladimirescu. Campania 1979," *Ziridava* 12 (1980): 151–63; Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 139–45; Cosma, "Considerații," 275; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 238–39, no. 220.

177 V. S. Bejlekči, "Novye slavjanskije pamjatniki južnoj zony Moldavii," *AISPDPM* (1985): 176–80; I. G. Vlasenko, "Issledovanija gorodišča Rečula," *AIM v 1985 g.* (1990): 212–29.

178 G. B. Fëdorov, "Drevnerusskoe poselenie na severe Moldavii," *AIM v 1968–1969 gg.* (1972); M. G. Roșal' and G. B. Fëdorov, "Žilye i proizvodstvennye sooruzhenija drevnerusskogo poselenija Rudi," *AIM v 1970–1971 g.* (1973); AKM 6, 24, no. 67, 74–76, no. 265; SPIK 1987, 220–21; Hîncu, *Cetăți antice*, 40–41.

Mășcăuți-*Cetate-Poiana Ciucului*, Criuleni rayon,¹⁷⁹ and in the Chernivtsi region. In Ukraine—Balamutovka I-*Taborišče*, Zastavna rayon,¹⁸⁰ Belaja-*Carina*, Kicman' rayon,¹⁸¹ Karapčov-*Gorodok*, Vižnick rayon,¹⁸² Chernivtsi-*Tureckaja Poljana*, Chernivtsi city,¹⁸³ Korostovata III-*Zamka*, Kicman' rayon,¹⁸⁴ Kulišovka III-*Palanka*, Sokirjansk rayon,¹⁸⁵ Gorbova I-*Cetate*, Hliboka rayon,¹⁸⁶ Grozincy-*Gorodišče*, Hotin rayon,¹⁸⁷ Magala-*Kruglaja Kanava*, Novoselick rayon,¹⁸⁸ Raškov-*Ščovb*, Hotin rayon,¹⁸⁹ Ržavinci II-*Hrinova* (Rjavinți), Zastavna rayon,¹⁹⁰ Gorišnie Širovcy VII-*Toloaka*, Zastavna rayon,¹⁹¹ and so on (Maps 4, 4a).

Geographical Position

A common feature of hillforts in Transylvania, Moldova, and Wallachia is their location on easily defensible lands with high visibility (promontories, high terraces of rivers, plateaus at height, slopes or hill terraces, and so on). In plains or meadows to the west or the south of the Carpathians only a few hillforts have been found (Biharea-*Cetatea de pământ*, Bihor county, Vladimirescu-*La Cetate*, Arad county, Tăuți-*Dealul Rujelor*, Alba county) (Map 4).

From the geographical point of view several regional groups may be distinguished:

- in the Mureș valley and on the Crișul Alb river, located on high terraces of rivers or the less-high plateaus of sub mountain hills, in the area where the Western Plain meets the piedmont of the Western Carpathians (Vladimirescu-*La Cetate*, Arad county, Sebiș-*Bălhrad*, oraș, Arad county, Tăuți-*Dealul Rujelor*, Arad county, and Biharea-*Cetatea de pământ*);
- hillforts in the hilly area between the Crișul Repede and the Someș, located on high terraces of hills or their slopes, and on the natural mamelons that virtually close the

179 T. Arnaut and S. Matveev, "Predvaritel'nye arheologičeskie issledovanija bliz s. Maškauc' v Central'noj Moldove," *Karpatika* 13 (2001); S. Musteață, "Predvaritel'nye rezul'taty arheologičeskikh raskopok v gorodišče Maškaucy," *Arheologični studii* 2 (Kyiv-Černivci: Prut, 2003).

180 Timoščuk, "Slavjanskije poselenija," 86–90; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 144–45, fig. 36.

181 Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina*, 145–46; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 96–97, 146, fig. 36/G.

182 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 157, fig. 51/V, G.

183 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 178, 179, fig. 32/A.

184 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 159, fig. 11/B.

185 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 45, 161, fig. 17/B.

186 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 166, fig. 54/B.

187 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 155–56, fig. 50/B.

188 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 162–63, fig. 53/B, 165.

189 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 171, fig. 57.

190 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 156, fig. 21.

191 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 149, fig. 48/A.

entrance to the intra-Carpathic space hillforts (Bixad-*Cetatea Văpa*, Covasna county, Cheud-*Dealul Cetate*, Sălaj county, Moigrad-*Dealul Cămin*, Sălaj county, and Ortelec-*Cetate*, Sălaj county);

- hillforts from the following group essentially constitute the second line of defence for the entrance into the intra-Carpathic space (Cuzdrioara, Cluj county, Dăbâca-*Cetate*, Cluj county, Şirioara-*Râitul Şiriorii*, Bistriţa-Năsăud county, Cluj-Napoca-*Calvaria*, Cluj county, and Gilău, Cluj county);
- hillforts on the middle course of the Mureş (Laz-*Cetatea de lemn*, Alba county, Blandiana-*Teigrad*, Alba county, and Hunedoara-*Grădina Castelului*, Hunedoara county);
- hillforts inside of the Carpathian arc (Eremitu-*Cetatea Vitia*, Mureş county, Câmpu Cetăţii-*Cetate*, Mureş county, Praid-*Cetatea Rabşonne*, Harghita county, Chinari, Mureş county, Ghineşti, Mureş county, Firtuşu, Harghita county, Odorheiu Secuiesc-*Cetatea Bud*, Harghita county, Porumbenii Mici-*Galath*, Harghita county, Racu-*Cetatea Păgânilor*, Harghita county, Dealu-*Cetăţii*, Harghita county, Albeşti-*La Cetăţeaua*, Mureş county, Vârghiş, Covasna county and Ungra, Braşov county);
- hillforts in the Banat (Coronini-*Culă*, Ilidia-*La Cetate*, and Bocşa Română-*Cetăţuia*, Caraş-Severin county¹⁹²);
- hillforts in the Bukovina and the Hotin Codrii (from Romania—Dersca-*În Pisc*, Botoşani county and Fundu Herţii-*La Redută*, Botoşani county; from the Chernivtsi region—Balamutovka I-*Taborišče*, Zastavna rayon, Belaja-*Carina*, Kicman' rayon, Karapčov-*Gorodok*, Vižnick rayon,¹⁹³ Chernivtsi-*Tureckaja Poljana*, Chernivtsi city,¹⁹⁴ Korostovata III-*Zamka*, Kicman' rayon, Kulišovka III-*Palanka*, Sokirjansk rayon, Dobrynovcy II-*Toloaka*, Zastavna rayon, Gorbova I-*Cetate*, Hliboka rayon, Gorišnie Širovcy VII-*Toloaka*, Zastavna rayon, Grozincy-*Gorodišče*, Hotin rayon, Lomacincy-*Okopy*, Sokirjansk rayon, Magala-*Kruglaja Kanava*, Novoselick rayon, Raškov-*Ščovb*, Hotin rayon,¹⁹⁵ Revno I-*Gorodišče*, Kicman' rayon,¹⁹⁶ Revno II-*Carina*, Kicman' rayon,¹⁹⁷ and Ržavinci II-*Hrinova* (Rjaviniţi), Zastavna rayon,¹⁹⁸ among others) (Maps 3, 4a);
- hillforts on the Suceava Plateau (Victoria-*Şanţul Catarinei*, Botoşani county, Ghilăneşti-*Velniţă 1*, Botoşani county, and Tudora, Botoşani county);
- hillforts in the region of the Bârlad Plateau (Mogoşesti-*Dealului Băţului*, Iaşi county, Poiana cu Cetate-*La Cetate*, Iaşi county, Costuleni, Iaşi county, Pocreaca, Iaşi county,

192 S. A. Luca, *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Caraş-Severin*, Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis 6 (Bucureşti, 2004), 35, no. 20.1.

193 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 157, fig. 51/V, G.

194 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 178, 179, fig. 32/A.

195 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 171, fig. 57.

196 Timoščuk, "Rozvidki v basenji," 415; Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 161–62, fig. 67; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 37–38, 114, 172, fig. 25/A, fig. 38/A, B, fig. 173, fig. 14.

197 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 65–72, 162–63; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 173.

198 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 164; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 156, fig. 21.

and Dumeștii Vechi, Vaslui county, and in the southern part Ibănești-Valea Merilor, Vaslui county),¹⁹⁹

- hillforts in the Răut Depression (Rudi-Farfuria Turcească, Soroca rayon, Alcedar-Cetățuie, Șoldănești rayon, Hligeni-La șanț, Șoldănești rayon, Echimăuți-Cetățuie, Rezina rayon, and Mășcăuți-Cetate-Poiana Ciucului, Criuleni rayon).

Some of the hillforts found to the north of the Lower Danube are exceptions to the groups outlined above, such as the hillfort at Răciula, Calarasi region, which is located in the northern Bacu Plateau, or the hillforts at Calfa-Cetățuie, Anenii Noi rayon, located at the limit between the forest steppe and the steppe near the river Dniester. In the intra-Carpathian regions, the hillforts at Breaza-La Cetate, Brașov county, and Covasna-Cetatea Zânelor, Covasna county, are located at a great distance from the group of hillforts inside of the Carpathian arc. The hillfort at Slon-La Ciugă, Prahova county, is practically the only hillfort on the territory of Wallachia (Map 4).

In terms of numbers, areas five and seven are the biggest, a situation that reflects the development level of the population and the strategic importance of these regions during the ninth–eleventh centuries.

Sites' Topography

By placement on the ground, shape, construction technique, the number of fortified lines, the presence or absence of bastions, and their size and function, we can distinguish several types of hillforts. The following groups of built hillforts can be determined by ground placement: on promontories, on the steep banks of a river or deep ravines, on slopes, and on isolated heights.²⁰⁰

Hillforts located on promontories are the most numerous, constituting approximately two-thirds of the total number of fortifications, which demonstrates site selection according to the criterion of natural defence. To mention just a few examples of such sites: Baranca-La Cetățuie, Botoșani,²⁰¹ Dersca-În Pisc, Botoșani county,²⁰² Fundu Herții-La Reduță, Botoșani county,²⁰³ Hligeni-La șanț, Șoldănești rayon,²⁰⁴ Lomacincy-Okopy, Sokirjansk rayon,²⁰⁵ Mășcăuți-Cetate-Poiana Ciucului,

199 Teodor, "Așezări întărite," 208, fig. 1.

200 Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 37–42.

201 Teodor, "Așezări întărite," 198; Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 238–39.

202 Teodor, "Așezări întărite," 198; D. Gh. Teodor, "Așezarea întărită medievală timpurie de la Dersca-Botoșani," *Hierarus* 11 (2001): 107–29.

203 Petrescu-Dîmboviță and Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații*; M. Andronic, "Poiana o așezare din secolele VIII–IX d. Chr.," supliment al anuarului *Suceava* 29–30 (2002–2003), nr. 8 (Suceava, 2005), 235–37.

204 Fëdorov, "Naselenie," 278; Hîncu, *Cetăți antice*, 128–29; Golțeva, "Considerații preliminare," 188–89; Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*.

205 Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina*, 59; Timoščuk, *Slovjans'ki gradi*, 25–43; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 32, 162, fig. 12/B.

Criuleni rayon,²⁰⁶ Raškov-Ščovb, Hotin rayon,²⁰⁷ Tăuți-Dealul Rujelor, Arad county,²⁰⁸ and so on. Sites located on promontories, defended from two or three sides by steep banks, are actually thus natural hillforts, being strengthened anthropogenic only from the accessible side.

For the construction of the other hillforts the topographical and geographical situation of the region were also taken into account, as they are placed on the steep bank of a river or of deep ravines, on isolated heights, or in swampy areas, such as in the cases of the settlements at Biharea-Cetatea de pământ, Bihor county,²⁰⁹ Cheud-Dealul Cetate, Sălaj county,²¹⁰ Cluj-Napoca-Calvaria, Cluj county,²¹¹ Dăbâca-Cetate, Cluj county,²¹² and so on.

The Hillforts' Surface

Hillforts' surfaces are generally small, but the size varies from one case to another. Thus, the surface of the settlements at Vladimirescu-La Cetate, in the Arad county, are 100 × 120 × 160 × 160 m,²¹³ Biharea-Cetatea de pământ, in the Bihor county are 115 × 150 m,²¹⁴ Șirioara-Râtul Șiriorii, in the Bistrița-Năsăud county are 55 × 45 × 85 × 80 m,²¹⁵ and so on. These are similar to the dimensions of most hillforts in Northern Bukovina, such as Chernivtsi-Tureckaja Poljana, city Chernivtsi—40 × 38 m,²¹⁶ Balamutovka I-Taborišče, Zastavna rayon—45 × 40 m,²¹⁷ Karapčov-Gorodok, Vižnick rayon—110 × 60 m,²¹⁸ Korostovata III—Zamka, Kicman' rayon—120 × 80 m,²¹⁹ Dobrynovcy II—Toloaka, Zastavna rayon—160 × 100 m,²²⁰ and so on. The settlement from Fundu

206 Arnaut and Matveev, "Predvaritel'nye arheologičeskie"; Musteață, "Predvaritel'nye rezul'taty."

207 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 171, fig. 57.

208 Cosma, "Fortificații," 477–78, no.15; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 233–34.

209 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 187; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 169.

210 A. Medve, "Cadrul natural al fortificațiilor de la Cheud," *AMP* 16 (1992): 383–88; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 185.

211 Șt. Pascu, "Începuturile Clujului medieval," *AIIC* 17 (1974): 60–67; Iambor and Matei, "Cetatea feudală," 291–304; RepCluj 1992, 118–20, no. 1.

212 RepCluj 1992, 174–77.

213 Dumitrașcu, "Ceramica românească," 66; A. A. Rusu, "Cetățile medievale timpurii din zona orașului Cluj în lumina unui document inedit," *SUBB* 25 (1980): 165–67; Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 139–45; Cosma, "Considerații," 275; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 238–39.

214 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 187; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 169.

215 M. Rusu, "Note asupra relațiilor culturale dintre slavi și populația romanică din Transilvania (sec.VI–X)," *Apulum* 9 (1971): 200; Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 233.

216 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 178, 179, fig. 32/A.

217 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 144–45, fig. 36.

218 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 157, fig. 51/V, G.

219 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 159, fig. 11/B.

220 Timoščuk, *Slov'jans'ki gradi*, 43–71, 107; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 40, 92, 156, fig. 15/A; fig. 16, fig. 34/B.

Herții-*La Reduță*, Botoșani county²²¹ and Dersca-*În Pisc*, Botoșani county²²² with surface of 1.5–2.0 hectares have similarities with those from *Belaja-Carina*, Kicman' rayon—440 × 330 m²²³ and *Revno I-Gorodišče*, Kicman' rayon—600 × 400 m.²²⁴ The surface area of the settlement at *Calfa-Cetățuie*, Anenii Noi rayon, is very much an exception, being 2,000 × 600 m (120 hectares).²²⁵

The planimetry of hillforts was greatly influenced by the configuration of the terrain. In reference to the form of the hillforts' plans, we can distinguish triangular, rectangular-oblong, oval or circular, and square sites. Most triangular hillforts are located on promontories, protected on two or three sides by steep banks, such as the hillforts at *Dăbâca-Cetate*, Cluj county²²⁶ or *Moigrad-Dealul Cămin*, Sălaj county.²²⁷

Some sites with quadrilateral plans are fortified with defensive lines only on three sides, with the fourth side being defended by the steep edges of some ravines or swampy terrain, such as in the case of the hillforts at *Biharea-Cetatea de pământ*, Bihor county,²²⁸ *Cluj-Napoca-Calvaria*, Cluj county,²²⁹ or *Dobrynovcy II—Toloaka*, Zastavna rayon.²³⁰ The hillforts at *Șirioara-Râțul Șiriorii*, Bistrița-Năsăud county,²³¹ and *Vladimirescu-La Cetate*, Arad county²³² are arranged in a trapezoid.

Besides those sites with a rectangular plan, hillforts with circular plans (oval, ring, horseshoe) were found north of the Lower Danube as well, usually built independently of the peculiarities of the terrain. These include hillforts at *Alcedar-Cetățuie*, Șoldănești rayon,²³³ *Echimăuți-Cetățuie*, Rezina rayon,²³⁴ and *Gorbova I-Cetate*, Hliboka rayon.²³⁵

221 Petrescu-Dîmboviță and Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații*, 11.

222 Teodor, "Așezarea întărită," 107–29.

223 Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina*, 145–46; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 96–97, 146, fig. 36/G.

224 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 161–62, fig. 67; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 37–38, 114, 172, fig. 25/A, fig. 38/A, B, fig. 173, fig. 14.

225 Čebotarenko, *Kalfa*, 3–4.

226 RepCluj 1992, 174–77, no. 71.

227 Matei, "Fortificațiile," 479, Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 233; Cosma, "Fortificații," 471–72.

228 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 187; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 169.

229 Pascu, "Începuturile Clujului," 60–67; Iambor and Matei, "Cetatea feudală timpurie," 291–304.

230 Timoščuk, *Slov'jans'ki gradi*, 43–71, 107; Timoščuk, *Slov'jani*, 74–78, 152–54; Timoščuk, *Davn'orus'ka Bukovina*, 168, 170; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 40, 92, 156, fig. 15/A; fig. 16, fig. 34/B.

231 Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 233; Gaiu, "Așezări din secolele V–VI," 113–14, no. 50.

232 Rusu, "Cetățile medievale," 165–67; Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 139–45.

233 Fëdorov, "Slavjane Podnestrov'ja"; Fëdorov, "Naselenie"; T. V. Ravdina, "O datirovke gorodišča Alčedar," in *SPDPM* (Kišinev, 1988): 54–71; Ion Hîncu, *Băștinașii plaiului moldav în lumina surselor arheologice (schite)* (Chișinău, 1993), 124–25.

234 Fëdorov, "Slavjanskie gorodišča"; Fëdorov, "Naselenie," 280, no. 14; Hynku, *Arheologičeskie pamjatniki*, 51–54.

235 Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina*, 152, 153; Timoščuk, *Slov'jans'ki gradi*, 106; Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 89–90, 149; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 166, fig. 54/B.

This category also contains hillforts with semi-circular lines of defence in the form of a horseshoe, such as in Cheud-Dealul Cetate, Sălaj county,²³⁶ or Balamutovka I-*Taborišče*, Zastavna rayon.²³⁷

Defense System

In most cases, the defence systems of these early medieval hillforts consisted of lines of defence made of earth and wood (waves, earthen ditches, and wooden palisades). Stone was used as building material for setting up lines of defence, but hillforts built entirely of stone have not been found. The defence system of the hillforts at Slon-*La Ciugă* was, in the first phase (1A), built from earth and wood, while in the second phase the walls were built of bricks and mortar to a thickness of 2.2 m, and the third phase was of stone.²³⁸ Defense lines were usually arranged according to the configuration of the terrain, except in circular settlements. In the case of hillforts on promontories, the defence lines were arranged transversally to the promontory, but sometimes earth walls were built at the lateral edges, as in the cases at Fundu Herții-*La Reduță* and Dersca-*În Pisc*, Botoșani county.²³⁹

The number of the defensive lines varied from one to three, or, in singular, cases up to five. Hillforts in low-lying areas are usually protected with a single wave and a moat, and the fortifications on the promontories were protected by mounds and earth ditches from the accessible part. In case of settlements with several levels of habitation, where on the soil surface several defensive lines were found but mounds and earth ditches have not been sectioned, it is quite difficult to be certain as to their chronological framing. An example in this respect is the settlement at Kulišovka III-*Palanka*, Sokirjansk rayon,²⁴⁰ where traces of five mounds were found; their chronological age, however, has not been clearly established. The settlement at Lenkovcy-*Baba*, Kel'menci region, Chernivtsi region, is reinforced, for example, with three mounds, but these were raised in different periods and only the one in the middle was built in the eighth–tenth centuries.²⁴¹ The same can be said of the settlements with several phases of construction. In the settlement at Fundu Herții-*La Reduță*, Botoșani county, for example, three lines of defence were discovered, but only two are from the first phase of construction, while the third line was built in the second phase.²⁴² The situation at Dersca-*În Pisc*, Botoșani county is similar, where the existence of two walls was attested.²⁴³ In the settlement at Mășcăuți-*Poiana*

236 A. Medve, "Cadrul natural al fortificațiilor de la Cheud," *AMP* 16 (1992): 383–88; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 185, no. 64.

237 Timoščuk, "Slavjanskije poselenija," 86–90; Timoščuk, *Slov'jans'ki gradi*, 106; Timoščuk, *Davn'orus'ka Bukovina*, 154; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 144–45, fig. 36.

238 Comșa, "Cetatea de lemn," 133–36.

239 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 40.

240 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 45, 161. fig. 17/B.

241 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 163.

242 Petrescu-Dîmboviță and Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații*.

243 Teodor, "Așezări întărite," 198; Teodor, "Așezarea întărită," 107–29.

Ciucului-Cetate, Criuleni rayon, we have discovered five successive lines of defence in recent archaeological investigations, four of which belong to the ancient period, and just inside of a ditch materials from the early medieval period were found. The situation remains unclear because of the impossibility of extending the areas of research, as the promontory is largely occupied by plantations of grape-vines.²⁴⁴

Hillforts with one or more ditches sometimes had a berm in front, after which there were one or more ditches, such as in Alcedar-*Cetățuie*, Șoldănești rayon,²⁴⁵ Cheud-*Dealul Cetate*, Mureș county,²⁴⁶ Dăbâca-*Cetate*, Cluj county,²⁴⁷ Karapčov-*Gorodok*, Vižnick rayon,²⁴⁸ Korostovata III-*Zamka*, Kicman' rayon,²⁴⁹ Magala-*Kruglaja Kanava*, Novoselick rayon,²⁵⁰ Moigrad-*Dealul Cămin*, Sălaj county,²⁵¹ Șirioara-*Râțul Șiriorii*, Bistrița-Năsăud county,²⁵² Tăuți-*Dealul Rujelor*, Arad county,²⁵³ and so on.

Regarding to these kind of building, many construction techniques have been noticed, which in most cases depend on the specific topography and material available in their respective geographic areas. In higher regions, where there is more stone, stone was used to build waves, and in the plains regions, where stone is found less often, the fortifications were erected mostly of wood and earth. The waves had a width of five to ten metres and a height which today is from 0.5 m–4 m. In order to make the waves more efficient, palisades of wooden beams were built on top of them. In this way, the height and the efficiency of these fortifications grew. In most cases, defence ditches in the shape of a river bed were placed in front of the waves and palisades, with triangular sections or sometimes with slightly flattened bottoms. These were ditches with a depth of 4.3 m and a width of 6–8 m or 20 m.

Hillforts, either quadrilateral or circular in plan, at Balamutovka I-*Taborišče*, Zastavna rayon,²⁵⁴ Biharea-*Cetatea de pământ*, Bihor county,²⁵⁵ Cluj-Napoca-*Calvaria*, Cluj county,²⁵⁶ Grozincy-*Gorodišče*, Hotin rayon,²⁵⁷ and Ržavinci II-*Hrinova*, Zastavna rayon²⁵⁸

244 Musteață, "Predvaritel'nye rezul'taty"

245 AKM 6, 78–85, no. 269; Hîncu, *Băștinașii plaiului*, 124–25.

246 Șt. Pascu, M. Rusu, P. Iambor, N. Edroiu, Gyulai, V. Wollmann, and Șt. Matei, "Cetatea Dabîcă," *AMN* 5 (1968): 161; Rusu, "Note asupra relațiilor culturale," 725.

247 RepCluj 1992, 174–77.

248 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 157, fig. 51/V, G.

249 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 159, fig. 11/B.

250 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 162–63, fig. 53/B, 165.

251 Matei, "Fortificațiile," 479, Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 201, no. 119.

252 Rusu, "Castrum, urbs, civitas," 200; Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 233.

253 Pădureanu, "Contribuții," 40; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 233–34.

254 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 144–45, fig. 36.

255 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 187; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 169.

256 Pascu, "Începuturile Clujului," 60–67; Iambor and Matei, "Cetatea feudală," 291–304.

257 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 78–80, 152; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 155–56, fig. 50/B.

258 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 164; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 156, fig. 21.

were surrounded on only three sides by lines of defence, with the fourth side protected by steep banks or swamps. Due to conditions of natural defence, some hillforts were only fortified with palisades, as in the case of the sites Dobrynovcy II-*Toloaka*, Zastavna rayon,²⁵⁹ Belaja-*Carina*, Kicman' rayon,²⁶⁰ and Revno I-*Gorodišče*, Kicman' rayon.²⁶¹ The hillfort at Slon-*La Ciugă*, Prahova county was protected by a palisade of tree trunks set vertically and strengthened by beams and branches placed horizontally. At the midpoint of the southern side, the traces of an entry into the hillfort were discovered.²⁶²

The hillforts with a circular mound and provided with a ditch are built on slightly angled slopes. Such hillforts were discovered near the village of Hligeni,²⁶³ in a place named *Lacuri*, in Echimăuți,²⁶⁴ Alcedar,²⁶⁵ and Rudi, in a place named *Farfuria Turcească*.²⁶⁶ Thus, a hillfort at Hligeni-*Lacuri*²⁶⁷ has an oval form and is located on a hillside; the ditch surrounding it has a width of 10–12 m and a depth of 1.0–1.5 m, and inside the ditch a wave was built with a width of 15 m at the base and a height of 1 m. The hillforts at Echimăuți and Alcedar also have an oval shape and a system similar to that of Hligeni-*Lacuri*. In the settlements at Grozincy²⁶⁸ and Lomačincy,²⁶⁹ the circular waves were erected over the remains of a wooden palisade.

Most hillforts protected by earth walls had an arranged palisade in front or on top of the waves. We present below a few examples. The hillfort at Cluj-Napoca-*Calvaria*, Cluj county, has a palisade built from two fences at a distance of between 2 and 6 m from each other out of six longitudinally arranged beams supported by vertical pillars between 1 and 1.5 m, the space between fences being filled with earth which, in all likelihood, was taken out of the defence ditch.²⁷⁰ In Fundu Herții-*La Reduță*, Botoșan county, the palisade was built atop the waves I and II. In the front part, facing the ditch, the palisade was reinforced with flat stones to prevent slippage of the earth out of the wave toward the ditch. The palisade was constructed from two fences, placed around 1–1.5 m from one another, with the space between them being filled with earth. On the

259 Timoščuk, *Slov'jans'ki gradi*, 43–71, 107; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 40, 92, 156, fig. 15/A; fig. 16, fig. 34/B.

260 Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina*, 145–46; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 96–97, 146, fig. 36/G.

261 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 37–38, 114, 172, fig. 25/A, fig. 38/A, B, fig. 173, fig. 14.

262 Comșa, "Cetatea de lemn," 133–36.

263 Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, 47.

264 Hîncu, *Cetăți antice*, 95–96.

265 Hîncu, *Cetăți antice*, 124.

266 Hîncu, *Cetăți antice*, 40.

267 Hîncu, *Cetăți antice*, 127.

268 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 154.

269 O. Manigda, "Tipologija i oboronnye konstrukcii gorodišč Severnoj Bukoviny VII–XII vv.," *Analele ANTIM* 1 (1999): 137.

270 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 41.

perimeter of the wave, they discovered spaces made of wooden beams and filled with earth and stone, which were meant to strengthen the palisade as buttresses from inside of the wave. The ditch in front of the first wave had a depth of 1.7 m and was flanked on both sides by beam fences, while the second ditch had free ends.²⁷¹ The entrance to the hillfort was arranged on the western end of wave II and had a width of 2.5 m, and another one was in the middle of the third wave blanked on two sides by thick wooden beams arranged in two parallel rows 3.5 m wide. The ditch in front of the entrance was not plugged, which leads us to assume the existence of a suspended wooden bridge.²⁷² On some segments unprotected by waves, the hillforts at Fundu Herții-*La Reduță*, Botoșani county, and Dersca-*În Pisc*, Botoșani county were fortified by a palisade of wooden beams placed directly onto the ground.²⁷³ In the first phase of the site at Vladimirescu-*La Cetate*, Arad county, two fences with parallel beams were erected, each having a width of 15 to 20 cm arranged longitudinally. Fences 9.5 m wide at the base were supported at a certain distance by transverse and vertical pillars, forming a system of cassettes. The interior was filled with rammed earth and on the exterior, a berm of 2.0–2.5 m was set up.²⁷⁴ In the wave at Vladimirescu-*La Cetate*, Arad county, they discovered traces of holes from pickets oriented toward the ditch, stuck into the ground at an angle of fifty to sixty degrees.²⁷⁵

Thus, by examining ground placement and the construction technique of defence lines we can recognize the existence of a number of similarities between the hillforts in Transylvania, the Bukovina, and the territories to the south and the east of the Carpathians.

Functionality of Hillforts

Based on archaeological data available today we can distinguish certain elements regarding the functionality of hillforts. Some hillforts could have been not only important production centres in their respective regions but also the residences of some local leaders. In all likelihood, in the first phase of habitation in the early medieval period, these hillforts had more the role of refuges in times of emergency than of economic centres and administrative-military residences. However, after the first phase, we can distinguish between administrative-military centres, refuge hillforts, and hillforts-sanctuaries.

The discovery of residential constructions and those with an economic character inside the main enclosure of the hillforts suggests that they were actually hillforts, continuously inhabited and used for economic, social and cultural activities of common interest.²⁷⁶

271 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 42.

272 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 71.

273 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 41.

274 Cosma, "Fortificații," 455.

275 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 41; Olteanu et al., "Modul de viață," 87.

276 Pascu et al., "Dinamica structurilor," 157.

In the main areas of the hillforts at Alba Iulia, Alba county,²⁷⁷ Balamutovka I-*Taborišče*, Zastavna rayon,²⁷⁸ Dăbâca-*Cetate*, Cluj county,²⁷⁹ Dobrynovcy II-*Toloaka*, Zastavna rayon,²⁸⁰ La Fundu Herții-*La Reduță*, Botoșani county,²⁸¹ Goreča III, Chernivtsi city,²⁸² Gorišnie Širovcy VII-*Toloaka*, Zastavna rayon,²⁸³ Grozincy-*Gorodišče*, Hotin rayon,²⁸⁴ Karapčov-*Gorodok*, Vižnick rayon,²⁸⁵ and Revno II-*Carina*, Kicman' rayon²⁸⁶ dwellings, household annexes, workshops, and so on were discovered, while the space between the waves was inhabited only sporadically. This category of hillforts had a mixed function, that of centres with an administrative, economic, and military character.

In some hillforts the houses were hidden by the defensive lines, waves, or palisades, as was attested to in the cases of Ržavinci II-*Hrinova* (Rjavinți), Zastavna rayon²⁸⁷ and Șirioara-*Râtul Șiriorii*, Bistrița-Năsăud county.²⁸⁸ For example, the inner part of the palisade at Belaja-*Carina*, Kicman' region, was adhered to by dwellings, with an elongated surface 3.8 m wide. In one of the constructions the tracks of two graves, dating from the ninth century, were searched by the author of the discoveries.²⁸⁹ In the immediate vicinity of the entrance into the hillfort at Magal-*Kruglaja Kanava*, Novoselick county, they discovered two dwellings, one of which was studied and deepened by 0.4 m; it was without a heating system and comprised an area of 2.6 × 2.6 m.²⁹⁰ This category of hillforts with quite poor cultural layers represents, in all likelihood, places of refuge, defended by the military detachments living in the dwellings in close vicinity to the entry or the lines of defence.

Some hillforts, besides their military-administrative or refuge functions, had a role as religious centres, having constructions of a religious character inside. In Revno the

277 RepAlba 1999, 36, no. 6:13, b.

278 Timoščuk, "Slavjanskije poselenija," 86–90; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 144–45, fig. 36.

279 RepCluj 1992, 174–77.

280 Timoščuk, *Slov'jans'ki gradi*, 43–71, 107; Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 74–78, 152–54; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 40, 92, 156, fig. 15/A; fig. 16, fig. 34/B.

281 Petrescu-Dîmboviță and Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații*, 14–21; Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 235–36.

282 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 150.

283 Timoščuk, *Slov'jans'ki gradi*, 106; Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 65, 151; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 149, fig. 48/A.

284 Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina*, 60; Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 78–80, 152; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 155–56, fig. 50/B.

285 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 157, fig. 51/V, G.

286 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 65–72, 162–63.

287 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 164; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 156, fig. 21.

288 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 44; Rusu, "Castrum, urbs, civitas," 200; Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 233.

289 Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina*, 145–46; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 96–97, 146, fig. 36/G.

290 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 162–63, fig. 53/B, 165.

sanctuary was located within the settlement,²⁹¹ and in Ržavinci II-*Hrinova*²⁹² and Gorbova I-*Cetate*²⁹³ they discovered a sacred complex which constituted an integral part of the hillforts-sanctuaries.

A peculiarity of the hillforts clearly stands out, upon which largely depends the nature of the fortifications. Most of the hillforts were located in areas dependent on the possibilities of natural defence given by the chosen land configuration, on which directly depended the aspects of defence lines and of hillfort form and visibility conditions advantageous for the defenders. It has been archaeologically certified that most hillforts have two stages in their evolution. The structure of the waves from the second phase (the eleventh–twelfth centuries) overlap with burnt remnants of the palisade from the previous period (the ninth–tenth centuries).

Regarding the duration of the settlements around hillforts, it appears that they are contemporary, owing to the existence of the natural link between these two categories of monuments. Hence the function of hillforts appears to have been military-administrative, religious, and refuge centres.

Chronology of Hillforts

Earth fortifications have drawn the attention of archaeologists since the 1950s and the issue has been widely debated in contemporary historiography; however, in the succeeding period, it has done relatively little for the complex research of these sites. Thus, for the emergence, the evolution, and the extinction of hillforts in the north-Danube space at the end of the first millennium to the beginning of the second millennium problems remain, to whatever extent they are important and to whatever extent they are difficult to solve.

The chronological and cultural frameworks of early medieval hillforts constituted the subject of some historiographical controversies. Dan Gh. Teodor ascribes the emergence of hillforts to the north of Moldova to local social-economic transformations and to the danger coming from new waves of migration in the ninth–eleventh centuries when they became not only resistance points but also the headquarters of leaders of the political entities of principalities.²⁹⁴ St. Olteanu believes that the fortifications in Moldova (Fundu Herții, Dersca, Orofteana, Baranga, Tudor, Botoșani county) are contemporary with those in Transylvania and “began to be constructed in the late eighth century, lasting until the beginning of the eleventh century.”²⁹⁵ Some archaeologists and historians link the appearance of hillforts with the development stage of Romanian society in the eighth–ninth centuries,²⁹⁶ while others deny their presence until the tenth century.²⁹⁷

291 Timoščuk, *Slov’jani Pivničnoj*, 65–72, 162–63; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 173.

292 Timoščuk, *Slov’jani Pivničnoj*, 164; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 156, fig. 21.

293 Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina*, 152, 153; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 166, fig. 54/B.

294 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 26.

295 Olteanu et al., “Modul de viață a comunităților umane,” 87.

296 Pascu et al., “Dinamica structurilor,” 158.

297 Z. Székely, “Contribuții la problema fortificațiilor și formelor de locuire din sud-estul Transilvaniei,” *Aluta* 8–9 (1976–1977): 53.

Certainly, the appearance of hillforts is linked to political, military, economic, and social realities in the Carpathian-Danubian regions, and the external threat represents one of its causes, but at the same time, these also represent the causes of the disappearance of hillforts. In the historiography, setting the lower limit for the appearance of early medieval hillforts is a widely discussed issue. C. Cosma, in one of his last studies, addressed the chronology issue of early medieval hillforts from Transylvania, but the small number of researched settlements does not allow for finding a clear answer to this question. An archaeologist from Cluj-Napoca believes that most hillforts to the west and the northwest of Romania started appearing after the second half of the tenth century and links this phenomenon to Hungarian expansion.²⁹⁸

Most fortifications were dated chronologically based on ceramic material discovered on the surface of the soil, both in the ninth–eleventh centuries and in the eighth–ninth centuries. In the case of hillforts, where archaeological research was undertaken, the data are more conclusive. Thus, on the territory of the northern Bukovina, some hillforts have been dated to beginning of the eighth century, but on the rest of the territories only beginning with the second half or at the end of the ninth century. In the case of settlements with many phases of habitation, such as Blandiana-*Țeligrad*,²⁹⁹ Alba county, or Fundu Herții-*La Reduță*, Botoșani county,³⁰⁰ the first phase has its beginnings in the second half of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries. An earth fortification with a wave and a ditch at Alba Iulia, Alba county, could be an example with several phases, having been rebuilt after each destruction. The first phase is dated, based on the discovered materials, to between the second half of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries.³⁰¹ In most cases, a defensive system consisting of ditches, earthen walls, and wooden palisades are characteristic of the first phase.

An important moment is the emergence of hillforts on the surface of settlements from the previous period. This category includes hillforts at Alcedar-*Cetățuie*, Rezina rayon.³⁰² The hillfort Vladimirescu-*La Cetate*, Arad county, overlapped a settlement, as at this level they discovered dwellings dated from the eighth to the first half of the ninth centuries, followed by the first phase of the hillfort, beginning in the middle of the ninth century. C. Cosma, referencing the stratigraphy of the site, claims that the hillfort was built a century later.³⁰³ The first phase of the destruction of the hillfort st Biharea-*Cetatea de pământ*, Bihor county, dates from the beginning of the tenth century; it was then rebuilt and abandoned again in the early eleventh century.³⁰⁴ The defence system of

298 Cosma, "Fortificații," 466.

299 Heitel, "Unele considerații," 103–4, 105; Horedt, *Siebenbürgen*, 76, 78, 80.

300 Petrescu-Dîmboviță and Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații*, 22–33.

301 RepAlba 1999, 36, no. 6:13, b.

302 I. Hîncu, "Tiverții și ulicii în spațiul Carpato-Nistrean," in *Probleme actuale ale istoriei naționale și universale. Culegere de studii și materiale*, ed. A. Petrencu (Chișinău, 1992), 101.

303 Cosma, "Fortificații," 461.

304 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 187; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 169.

the hillfort at Biharea, also attested to in *Gesta Hungarorum*,³⁰⁵ has not been sufficiently investigated, complicating its chronological classification. Building earthen and wooden hillforts in the ninth–tenth centuries over settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries is a characteristic feature for large areas of Europe (the Czech Republic, Slovakia etc.).³⁰⁶

The Hungarian notary, in his chronicle, speaks repeatedly of the arrival of the Hungarians on the Pannonian Plain³⁰⁷ and to the regions east of the Tisza and mentions a number of local leaders (*duces*) that defended themselves in these hillforts, called *castrum*. An example might be the Zotmar hillfort, of the dukedom of Menumorut, where the Hungarians fought for three days to conquer it,³⁰⁸ or the residence of the duke of Bihar.³⁰⁹ Similarly, the Duke of Gelu who, fleeing from Hungarian danger, retreated to his hillfort on the Someș, *Qui cum fugeret, properans ad castrum suum iuxta fluuim zomus positum* (Then he fled, hastening to his castle located beside the Szamos river).³¹⁰

At the same time, *Anonymus* mentions that, after the conquest of new territories, the Hungarians built new hillforts and defensive lines³¹¹ with the support of their partners and local people. In the description of Zobolsu, the chronicler mentions how he, appreciating the quality of the site near the Tisza, after seeking counsel together with his associates, mobilized the local people to build a strong hillfort with a large ditch and a wave: *Communi ergo consilio sociorum suorum congregatione facta ciuium fecit fossatam magnam et castrum fortissimum edificauit de terra* (With the common advice of his companions and after having held an assembly of the citizens, he built a great ditch and a most strong castle from the ground).³¹² The situation is repeated in the case of Thosu, Zobolsu's associate, who, coming into the Someș region, did the same; he organized the local people to make a big ditch and build an earthen hillfort—*congregata multitudine populi fossatam magnam fecit, et castrum munitissimum de terra construxit* (After having gathered together the multitude of people, he built a great ditch and a most fortified castle from the ground).³¹³

305 *Castro Byho, Gesta Hungarorum*, LI. De duce Menumorout.

306 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 39–40.

307 *Castrum Borsoa*, XIV. De Arpad duce; *die duces Salanum in castro opar*, XVI. De monte Turzol, *Gesta Hungarorum*.

308 XXI. De Zobolsu. *Gesta Hungarorum*.

309 *Tunc dux Menumorut dimissa multitudine militum in castro Byhor, ipse cum uxore et filia sua fugens a facie eorum, in nemoribus Ygfon habitare cepit* (Then the Duke Menumorut, after leaving the multitude of military men in the Byhor castle, has himself evaded, together with his wife and daughter, from their face and started to live in the woods Ygfon), 51. De duce Menumorout. *Gesta Hungarorum*.

310 XXVII. De morte Gelu, *Gesta Hungarorum*.

311 *Vbi postea oluptulma filius Ketel castrum construxit, quod Camarum nuncupauit* (where then Oluptulma son of Ketel has built a castle which he named Camar), 15. De Camaro castro; *et in loco conuenienti castrum construeret* (About the castle of Camar: and coming to the place [he?] built a castle), 18. De Borsod, *Gesta Hungarorum*.

312 XXI. De Zobolsu. *Gesta Hungarorum*.

313 XXI. De Zobolsu. *Gesta Hungarorum*.

In all likelihood, the hillforts north of the Danube were built in the ninth–eleventh centuries,³¹⁴ the situation typical also for other regions in Europe.³¹⁵ The problem is, what about the fortifications in Transylvania? Which of them were built before the Hungarians' arrival, and which ones during the Arpadian period? For the hillforts in the Bukovina and the territories east of the Carpathians, the problem also remains open, because some hillforts are attributed to the new waves of the eastern or Western Slavs, and others, at the expense of local populations or those coming from the south of the Danube. For a more accurate assessment, it is necessary to mutually corroborate archaeological data and written sources. This subject thus remains a historiographical problem requiring a multilateral and complex approach.

Chronological frameworks, for hillforts where archaeological excavations have not been done, remain unsolved problems, the planimetry and the discovered archaeological material on the surface represent insufficient criteria. In order to clarify the peculiarities of habitation north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries, it is necessary to expand archaeological excavations in the future to as many sites as possible. Through such research the possibility of elucidating the most important transformation in early medieval society in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space will increase. The recent monograph by A. A. Rusu on fortifications and medieval hillforts in Transylvania (the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries) is an example of defensive systems analysis that can encourage the realization of complex studies regarding the hillforts from the north-Danube areas in the previous period (the ninth–twelfth centuries).

Mixed Settlements

This category includes hillforts adjoining settlements representing a territorial unit which commonly conducted their economic, social, and defence activities.³¹⁶ In most cases, hillforts were accompanied by settlements, which demonstrate a direct link between these two types of settlements. In recent years, the specialized literature has been increasingly discussing the problem of the organization of *suburbis*, early medieval hillforts' suburbs, which had a direct link with fortified centres, both in economic and socio-political plans.³¹⁷

One or several settlements were placed in the close proximity of the hillforts from *Babin I Govda*, Kel'menic rayon,³¹⁸ *Balamutovka I Taborišče*, Zastavna rayon,³¹⁹

314 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 70; Petrescu-Dîmboviță and Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații*, 5; Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 234.

315 S. Brather, "The Beginnings of Slavic Settlement East of the River Elbe," *Antiquity* 78 (June 2004): 321; Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 40–44.

316 Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 232.

317 I. Boháčova and L. Poláček, ed., *Burg—Vorburg—Suburbium zur problematik der nebenareale frühmittelalterlicher Zentren* (Brno, 2008).

318 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 146; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 144, fig.44/A,1;B.

319 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 144–45, fig. 36.

Belaja-Carina, Kicman' region,³²⁰ *Karapčov-Gorodok*, Vižnick rayon,³²¹ *Dersca-În Pisc*, Botoșani county,³²² *Horodiștea-În Bâtcă*, Botoșani county,³²³ *Ilidia-La Cetate*, Caraș-Severin county,³²⁴ *Poiana cu Cetate-La Cetate*, Iași county,³²⁵ *Șendriceni-La Cariere*, Botoșani county,³²⁶ *Tăuți-Dealul Rujelor*, Alba county,³²⁷ and so on (**Map 2**).

The settlements at *Dobrynovcy II-Toloaka*, *Zastavna* rayon,³²⁸ *Grozincy-Gorodișče*, *Hotin* rayon,³²⁹ *Lomačincy*, *Sokirjansk* rayon,³³⁰ *Rașkov-Șčovb*, *Hotin* rayon,³³¹ *Revno I Gorodișče*, *Kicman' rayon*,³³² *Rahotin II Zamčișče*, *Hotin* rayon,³³³ and *Șirokaja Poljana-Korgana*, *Hliboka* rayon³³⁴ were centres of great importance, where an active population has been attested to both inside the hillfort and within the settlement (**Map 2**).

A series of settlements were located both around and inside ancient hillforts, which proves the reuse of previous defence systems by the early medieval population. Within the settlement at *Albești-La Cetățea*, *Mureș* county, Romania, forty-five complexes were investigated (dwellings, workshops, furnaces, ritual pits, waste pits) from the seventh–ninth centuries, which proves the presence of an active population, and in case of danger the Geto-Dacian hillfort close by was used as a refuge.³³⁵

Caves

Caves, in their role as shelter, have been places of attraction for people since ancient times.³³⁶ Archaeological investigations inside caves in the zones of Banat and Transylvania

320 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 96–97, 146, fig.36/G.

321 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 157, fig.51/V,G.

322 Teodor, "Așezări întărite," 198; Teodor, "Așezarea întărită," 107–29.

323 Teodor, "Unele probleme," 256–57; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 103, no. 372, 373.

324 Iaroslavschi and Lazarovici, "Vestigii arheologice," 457; Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 231, 237.

325 Teodor, "Unele probleme," 256–57; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 130–31.

326 RepBotoșani 1976, 252, no. LVI.1.H and I; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 150, no. 654.

327 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 233–34.

328 Timoščuk, *Slovjans'ki gradi*, 43–71, 107; Timoščuk, *Slovjani Pivničnoj*, 74–78, 152–54; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 40, 92, 156, fig. 15/A; 16; 34/B; I.C.

329 Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina*, 60; Timoščuk, *Slovjans'ki gradi*, 7–25, 106; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 155–56, fig. 50/B.

330 Timoščuk, *Slovjans'ki gradi*, 25–43; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 32, 162, fig. 12/B; I.C.

331 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 171, fig. 57; I.C.

332 Timoščuk, *Slovjani Pivničnoj*, 161–62, fig.67; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 37–38, 173, fig. 14; 114, 172–73, fig. 25/A, 38/A,B.

333 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 174.

334 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 182, fig. 62/B.

335 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 169–86; Baltag, "Așezări și tipuri de locuințe," 167, no. 1/c; RepMureș 1993, 40–42, no. III.1.C and D.

336 S. M. Petrescu, "Locuirea umană a peșterilor din Banat până în epoca romană," *BHAB* 27 (2000); Petrescu, "Câteva considerații ale comunităților din peșterile Banatului în secolele II–XXI," *PB* 2 (2003).

have revealed archaeological material, demonstrating their usage as temporary shelters or dwellings in the seventh–tenth centuries (Maps 1, 2).

Discoveries from the caves in the gorge of the Crișul Repede (Călățea cave, Aștileu, Bihor county,³³⁷ Boiul's cave, Lorău-Bratca, Bihor county,³³⁸ Igrîța cave, Peștere-Aștileu, Bihor county,³³⁹ Ungur's cave, Șuncuiș-Finiș, Bihor county,³⁴⁰ Lesiana cave, Șuncuiș-Finiș, Bihor county,³⁴¹ Devințu's cave,³⁴² and cave no. 2 near the town of Vadu Crișului, Bihor county³⁴³), in the Poiana Mountains Ruscă (cave no. 1 from Cerișor-Lelese, Hunedoara county³⁴⁴), in Șureanu Mountains (*Coasta vacii* cave, Federi-Pui, Hunedoara county³⁴⁵), in the basin of the Aries (one of the caves near the town of Turda, Cluj county³⁴⁶) and in the Banat Mountains (Liliecilor cave, Carașova, Caraș-Severin county,³⁴⁷ the Cuina Turcului³⁴⁸ and Malovăț³⁴⁹ caves on the perimeter of the village Dubova, Mehedinți county) is limited to fragments of pottery and, in only one case, in Lesiana, a residential construction with a heating system inside was found, arranged with river stones. The cultural layer is quite thin, which means their habitation was for a limited duration. Possibly the caves were used as shelters by shepherds who grazed their animals on the hills nearby.³⁵⁰ The caves could have served as shelters during other seasonal activities, such as gathering hay, cutting wood, and so on.³⁵¹ At the same time, the caves could have been used as animal shelters, both in rainy weather and at high temperatures. A proof of this is the current situation in Old Orhei, where in summer the flocks of sheep and goats hide inside the cells of the rocky banks of the river Răut. This situation is not quite adequate in terms of the protection of cultural heritage in the Republic of Moldova, but this subject is beyond the scope addressed in this book.

337 RepBihor 1974, 53; Dumitrașcu, "Ceramica românească," 61, no. 4; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 182, no. 54.

338 RepBihor 1974, 42–43, no. 234; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 198, no. 111.

339 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 213, no. 143.

340 RepBihor 1974, 74; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 233, no. 199.

341 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 233, no. 200.

342 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 235, no. 208.

343 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 234–35, no. 207.

344 C. Roman, D. Diaconescu, and A. Luca, "Cercetări arheologice în Peștera nr. 1 (Peștera Mare) de la Cerișor (com. Lelese, jud. Hunedoara)," *Corviniana* 6 (2000): 7, 17.

345 K. Horedt, "Ținutul hunedorean în secolele IV–XII," *Sargetia* 3 (1956): 109.

346 D. Popescu, "Săpăturile arheologice din Republica Socialistă România în anul 1966," *SCIV* 18 (1967): 523, no. 9.

347 Șt. Cădariu and R. Petrovszky, "Cercetări arheologice în Valea Carașovei," *Tibiscus* 4 (1975): 153.

348 Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 237; Bejan, "Economia satului," 267.

349 Bejan, "Economia satului," 267.

350 C. Cosma, "Considerații privind structura vieții economice în spațiul vestic și nord-vestic românesc în secolele VIII–X d.H.," *Crisia* 26–27 (1997): 69.

351 Bejan, "Economia satului," 267.

Framing certain constructions from the rupestral ensemble around the Church *Tăierea Capului Sf. Ioan Botezătorul*, Aluniș-Colți, Buzău county, Romania,³⁵² or the rock-cut cave *Peștera lui Bichir* at Soroca, the Republic of Moldova, as being from the eighth–ninth centuries is a proposition that does not have enough evidence, even though some historians argue this idea by corroborating rupestral realities with the information provided by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.³⁵³ Christian cave complexes are missing in places closer to Byzantine influences. In the Crimea, Christian complexes from the sixth–seventh centuries disappear together with the establishment of the Khazar Kaganate's rule and only re-emerged at the end of the eleventh century.³⁵⁴ The political and cultural realities of the eighth–ninth centuries in the Prut-Dniester space and the lack of Christian communities and cemeteries do not allow us to support the emergence of such complexes characteristic of Christian monastic life, even specific to the anchoritic style, in the zone of the Middle Dniester at that time.

Based on discovered ceramic materials, human habitations inside some caves have been chronologically attributed to the seventh–eighth centuries (Cuina Turcului and Malovăț caves), to the eighth century (Deveniș's cave, Lilieci's cave), to the eighth–ninth centuries (Lesiana cave and the cave no. 1 from Cerișor), and to the ninth–tenth centuries (no. 2 from Vadu Crișului, Lorău and Peștera caves),³⁵⁵ including the cave at Turda, Cluj county.³⁵⁶

Thus, we can state that habitation in a cave, although with a temporary seasonal character, is a characteristic feature of areas with mountainous relief, in our case in the Banat Mountains, the Poiana Rusca Mountains, and the Mountains Șurianu, as well as in Cris gorge, not only for prehistoric times but also for early medieval ones. Natural caves were thus used by people for centuries in order to practice certain occupations: hunting (placing traps, shelter, rest), pastoralism (animal shelter, shepherds' rest), extraction of ores and wood processing in mountain areas (workers' shelter), and so on.

Dwellings and Household Annexes

The number of residential constructions dating from the eighth–ninth centuries investigated in the settlements in the Carpathian-Danubian-Dniester space varies from case to case,³⁵⁷ and an average estimation is impossible because so very few settlements have

352 Constantinescu, "Aspecte privind evoluția," 187.

353 V. Ghimpu, "Românii de la Nistru și Dunăre în secolele VIII–XII," *Tyragetia* 15 (2006): 77.

354 J. M. Mogaričev, "Osnovnye etapy razvitija skal'noj arhitekturz jugo-zapadnogo Kryma," *MAIET* 5 (1996): 128–29.

355 Cădariu and Petrovszky, "Cercetări arheologice," 153; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 55.

356 Popescu, "Săpăturile arheologice," 523, no. 9.

357 The following are some statistic data on the number of dwellings from the eighth–ninth centuries discovered up to now in the investigated settlements in Ukraine, Chernivtsi region: Balamutovka II–3, Černovka II *Rula*–15, Černovka II *Rula*–9, Černivci-*Klokučna II Cegelinja*–7, Dobrynovcy-*Toloaka*–28, Gordevcy II-*Perelog*–3, Ostrica-*Kodyn* I–8, Ostrica-*Kodyn* II–23, Kozmen'-*Gorišnii*

been fully investigated. The presence of housing in settlements where black or brown spots were observed on the soil surface remains uncertain, and confirmation of these allegations can only be provided by archaeological excavations. This situation mainly relates to the sites in the northern Bukovina, where Ukrainian archaeologists mentioned traces of construction on the soil surface which have been appreciated as early medieval, based only on ceramic material. In cases of rescue excavations, the complexes were only partially investigated, and in some regions agricultural and infrastructure development work destroyed numerous complexes and even entire sites.

Certification of constructed structures in the studied settlements can be suggestive of the size and certain aspects of communities' organization. The assessments must be made very carefully, though, because excavations were not exhaustive and the dwellings could have belonged to several phases of habitation.³⁵⁸ Based on archaeological discoveries we can reconstruct aspects of construction and housing arrangement traditions in the period and the region under investigation. Housing constructions were discovered

Kut-3, Perebycovcy II Cegelinka-2, Raškov-Livada-80, Revno-Ia Gorodišče-12, Sokol-Ostrov-14, and so on and Odesa region: Šabo-7; from the Republic of Moldova: Alcedar-Odaia-8, Calfa-10, Durllești-Valea Babei-5, Hansca-Limbari-Căprăria-39, Hlinjeni-10, Hordinești-6, Măscăuți-Livada Boierului-7, Pohorniceni-Pha-4, Trebujeni-Scoc-47 and so on; from Romania: Albești-Școală-25, Alba Iulia-Stația de Salvare-Stadion-5, Albești-La Cetățea-45, Alexandria-3, Angheluș-Kövicsesorr-5, Balta Verde-Braniște-3, Banca-La Conac-1, Bârlogu-5, Băiceni-Grădina lui Pascal-5, Băiceni-Siliște-5, Bezid-Nagyszénafű-3, Biharia-Grădina SA-Baraj-10, Bîrlad-Cartierul Munteni-3, Bobota-Pe Vale/Ierțaș-6, Bogdănești-Puierniță-3, Borșeni-Bulgărie-3, Bragadiru-17; Brășăuți-3, Bratei no. 2-12, Rădaie-12, Bucov-Rotari-2 pit-houses and 14 houses, Bucov-Tioca-24 locuințe pit-houses and 30 houses, București-Străulești-Sector Măicănești-5, Căscioarele-Șuvița Hotarului-9, Căscioarele-Valea Coșarului-3, Cefa-Ciciocoș-2, Cernat-Curtea muzeului-4, Chirnoși-Rudărie-2, Comană de Jos-Gruiful Vicarului-33, Cristuru Secuiesc-Panta de brad-5, Cristuru Secuiesc-Valea Pârâului Cetății-8, Davideni-La Izvoare-Spiești-1, Dăbâca-Cetate (IV)-6, Dodești-Călugăreasca-14, Dodești-Șipot-4, Dridu-La Metereze-23, Eliseni-Ló Temetö-12, Epureni-Șoldeni-6, Eșelnița-5, Felnac-40, Filiaș-Pământul Pădurii Mari-41, Gătaia-10, Gornea-Găunița de Sus-11, Grojdibodu-Ferma lui Marinescu-8, Gura Idrici-La Coșare-4, Hărman-Groapa Banului-4, Iași-Hlincea-3, Iernuț-Sf. Gheorghe-Pe Șes-2, Izvoare-Bahna-La Pod la Hărmănești-23, Jabăr-Cotun-4, Lăpușel-Ciurgău-4, Lozna-Străteni-La Ocoale-34, Lugoj-3, Medişoru Mare-Temetö Hagó-2, Mihai Bravu II-7, Mirșid-Valea Albă-4, Moldova Veche-Rîț-10, Noșlac-Livada-8, Nușfălău-Țigoiul lui Benedek-6, Ocnița-Valea Lupului-2, Oradea-Salca-Ghețarie-1, Piuța Petrii-Orășul de Floci-3, Orșova-4, Oțeni-Bontapatak-5, Panic-La blocuri-2, Parța-Tell no. 1-4, Poiana-În Huci la Fedcu-45, Poiana-Seliște-12, Poian-Loc de Piatră-24, Popeni-Cuceu-3, Radovanu-Pe Neguleasa-3, Radovanu-Valea lui Petcu-15, Remetea Mare-Gomila lui Pituț-7, Remetea Mare-Gomila lui Pituț-2, Sacoșu Mare-Burău-4, Sălașuri-Panta de cărămidă-28, Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor-6, Simonești-Cseré-Alja-28, Sînnicolau Român-Bereac-6, Spinoasa-Dealul Catarg-3, Stupini-Fânațele Archiudului-3, Sieu-Odorhei-Somostăuș-2, Șimonești-Panta de stejari-34, Șirna-Fântâna lui Hârțu-8, Tanacu-Chiscul Ulucilor-4, Târgșoru Vechi-7, Țaga-Hrube-17, Vânători-Neamț-2, Zalău-Palvar-2, Zalău-Panic-2, and so on; from Serbia (southwestern Banat): Banatski Karlovac-Ciglana, Dubovac-Kosičev breg-1; from Hungary (regions from the east of the Tisza): Eperjes-5, Kunmadaras-1, Tiszafüred-Morotvapart-16, and so on.

358 Olteanu et al., "Modul de viață," 73.

both in settlements and in a number of hillforts.³⁵⁹ The archaeological data that we have today allow us to distinguish between two main classes of residential constructions, which in their turn can be divided into several categories: dwellings and houses.³⁶⁰ The most common residential constructions are single-celled dwellings, with some small exceptions where the presence of two rooms can be distinguished, as in the cases of constructions no. 8 and no. 11 at Biharea-Grădina SA Baraj.³⁶¹ The fact that houses are fewer in number does not necessarily reflect the reality of the past, but is likely due to the fact that they were more easily destroyed over time instead.

Dwellings

Dwellings from this construction class are deepened, compared to the level of construction, to between 0.4 and 2.0 m in depth and have different forms and sizes, while heating installations are arranged inside. In the settlement of Gornea-Găunița de Sus the depth of eleven discovered constructions varies between 0.40 and 0.60 m,³⁶² while in the settlement at Rudi the dwellings are deepened to 1.8 m.³⁶³ The depth of dwellings varied not only in relation to the building traditions and climatic peculiarities of the region but also based on the topographical conditions of the area. Thus, in places with uneven, sloped ground, its depth varies greatly from one end of the house to the other for giving a horizontal position to the floor.

Planimetry

From a planimetric point of view the dwelling had various shapes—square, rectangular, oval, and, in some constructions, irregular. Dwellings usually had a quadrilateral plan, but trapezoidal constructions are also found. Most rectangular dwellings have rounded corners, occupy an area of approximately 12 m² (3 × 4 m), and have corners oriented towards the cardinal points. There are fewer dwellings with inner surface smaller than 12 m²³⁶⁴ and rarely any over 20 m² (4 × 5 m or 4 × 6 m).³⁶⁵ Aside from rectangular dwellings, those of irregular or oval shape have also been certified. The entrance is usually arranged in the form of a gallery, in one of the corners of the house or on one of its sides, and as a rule is in front of the heating system.³⁶⁶ An example is dwelling

359 Petrescu-Dîmboviță and Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații*, 34–43.

360 Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 43–48.

361 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*.

362 Țeicu, *Banatul*, 84.

363 M. G. Rošal' and G. B. Fëdorov, "Žilye i proizvodstvennye sooruzhenija drevnerusskogo poselenija Rudi," *AIM v 1970–1971 g.* (1973): 156.

364 A. Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice la istoria Banatului în sec. VII–IX e.n.," *SCIVA* 34 (1983): 355; Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 136.

365 G. Ferenczi and I. Ferenczi, "Săpături arheologice cu caracter informativ executate între anii 1962–1965 de muzeul din Odorhei (notă preliminară)," *Marisia* 2 (1967): 56–57; Baltag, "Așezări și tipuri de locuințe," 176, no. 39/a.

366 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 72.

no. 1 at Lăpușel-*Ciurgău*, which had the form of the letter “L” with the entry in the form of a “bottle-neck.”³⁶⁷ In some constructions they discovered traces of steps at the entry into the house. In the settlement at Târșoru Vechi-*La Mănăstiri*, Prahova county, the step was built from a millstone.³⁶⁸ Dwellings, oval or oval-elongated in plan, are more rarely found. Examples include the discoveries at Căscioarele-*Șuvița Hotarului*, Călărași county,³⁶⁹ Lugoj, Timiș county,³⁷⁰ Moroda-*Săliște*, Arad county,³⁷¹ and Bogatœ, Odessa region. In the case of a dwelling at Bogatœ, oriented on a line stretched from the west to the east and deepened to 1–1.4 m compared to the contemporary ground level, the dimensions were 3.1 × 3.9 m. The walls of the construction are slightly inclined inwards.³⁷² Oval dwelling find their analogues in settlements south of the Danube and in Eastern Europe.³⁷³

Construction Techniques

The presence of pits on the perimeter of walls or in the corners of dwellings involves using poles to support the frame of the dwellings. We must take into account the fact that, often, the marks of these pegs cannot be captured archaeologically.³⁷⁴ The pegs from the corners of the house and the perimeter of the walls supported both the roof and the walls, arranged from beams or twigs. In the absence of pegs, in all likelihood, wooden skids were arranged on the sides of the dwelling at ground level, where the digging of the dwelling’s pit began, such as in the cases of Borșeni-*Bulgărie*, Neamț county,³⁷⁵ *Coasta-Podul Bretei*, Bistrița-Năsăud county,³⁷⁶ *Gornea-Găunița de Sus*, *Ilidia-Săliște*, *Ilidia-Funii*, *Moldova-Veche-Vinograda*,³⁷⁷ *Simonești-Cseré-Alja*, Harghita county,³⁷⁸ and so on. In the settlements at Dodești, Vaslui county, both types of building systems were used;

367 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 29.

368 Constantinescu, “Aspecte privind evoluția,” 233, no. 148.

369 E. Comșa, “Cercetări arheologice în preajma lacului Greaca,” *SCIV* 3–4 (1954): 590; D. Mihai, “Cronica cercetărilor arheologice 1990–1993,” *CA* 10 (1997): 429.

370 M. Mare, “O așezare prefeudală de la Lugoj,” *SIB* 16 (1992): 109–26; M. Mare, “Tipuri de locuințe din Banat între sec. IV–IX d. Hr.,” *AB* 5 (1997): 122–23 Mare, *Banatul*, 187, no. 163/1b.

371 Cosma, “Considerații privind așezările,” 275; Dumitrașcu, “Ceramica românească,” 63; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 202–3.

372 Smilenko and Kozlovskij, “Poselenija u sel Šabo,” 110.

373 S. A. Pletneva, *Na slavjano-hazarskom pogranič'e. Dmitrievskij arheologičeskij kompleks* (Moskva, 1989), 37–38, fig. 15; V. S. Flerov, *Rannesrednevekovyje jurtoobraznyje žilišča vostočnoj Evropy* (Moskva, 1996).

374 Dulea, “Considerații,” 210.

375 Șt. Cucos, “Contribuții la repertoriul arheologic al județului Neamț,” *MA* 18 (1992): 44–46; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 54, no. 99.

376 C. Gaiu, “Așezarea prefeudală de la Șirioara, com. Șieu-Odorhei, jud. Bistrița-Năsăud,” *Marisia* 13–14 (1984): 63.

377 Țeicu, *Banatul*, 84.

378 Baltag, “Așezări și tipuri de locuințe,” 178, no. 46/b.

eight dwellings had walls and roofs supported by beams, and in the other six dwellings wooden skids were used.³⁷⁹

The walls were built of twigs and wooden beams. Burnt clay fragments with traces of twigs demonstrate clay processing of the walls. One of the four dwellings discovered in *Mirșid-Valea Albă*, Sălaj county, had walls made of beams laid horizontally and joined in central pillars supporting the roof, but the hearth and the oven walls were made of smooth stones. The details on the construction of walls and roofs are rarely documented, and it is thus hard to reconstruct the technique used. In the settlement of *Dodești-Călugăreasca*, Vaslui county, the elements of wall arrangement could have been better specified only in case of dwelling no. 15, which turned to be a metal processing factory, where a system of horizontally arranged beams attached between the double pillars was used.³⁸⁰

Roof Arrangement

After the shape of dwellings and the presence of support pits, we can further differentiate housing by types of roofs; some residential constructions had a roof in one and some in two slopes. Examples of roofs in two slopes are found on the dwellings at *Comană de Jos-Gruicul Vicarului*, Brașov county,³⁸¹ or at *Lozna-Străteni-La Ocoale*, Botoșani county.³⁸² In case of an oval roof construction, in all likelihood, it would be a cone. In case of dwellings totally built into the earth, the roof was generally made of branches and wooden beams covered with earth,³⁸³ and in case of constructions with protruding walls, the roof was typically made of straw and reed and knitted with wood.

Interior Arrangement

From discovered archaeological materials, we can state that the arrangement of dwellings in the eighth–ninth centuries was modest. The floor, in most cases, was waterproofed by a layer of well beaten earth or clay. On the perimeter of the walls traces of benches arranged from clay blocks or traces of pegs that could have been from the wooden furniture of the house have been discovered. The dwellings were heated using simple fireplaces, stone ovens, and hollowed ovens, normally located in one of the corners or on the perimeter of the walls of the construction. Most dwellings were equipped with heating units; for example, at *Filiaș-Pământul Pădurii Mari*, Harghita county,³⁸⁴ all forty-one dwellings

379 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 72.

380 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 65–67, fig. 26/d and fig. 27 (reconstitution of the construction).

381 Ciupea, "Observații asupra toponimiei," 294; Uzum, "Mărturii arheologice," 236.

382 D. Gh. Teodor, "Unele considerații privind încheierea procesului de formare a poporului român," in *AM* 9 (1980): 455–61; Teodor, "Cercetări în așezarea din secolele VII–VIII de la Lozna-Străteni, jud. Botoșani," *MCA* 14 (1980); Teodor, "Principalele rezultate ale cercetărilor arheologice de la Lozna-Străteni (jud. Botoșani)," *MCA* 15 (1983): 452–55.

383 D. Gh. Teodor, *Meșteșugurile la nordul Dunării de Jos în secolele IV–XI d.Hr.* (Iași, 1996), 78.

384 Z. Székely, "Așezări din sec. VI–IX e.n. în sud-estul Transilvaniei," *Aluta* 6–71 (1974–1975): 35–55; Cosma, "Considerații privind așezările," 275.

had indoor stone ovens, in Poiana-*Seliște*, Neamț county, ovens existed in all discovered constructions,³⁸⁵ and in Biharea-*Cetatea de pământ*, Bihor county,³⁸⁶ out of eleven discovered complexes ten had ovens inside. In some cases dwellings even benefited even from heaters; such are the cases of the dwellings at Aldești-*Stațiunea Experimentală Agricolă*, Neamț county,³⁸⁷ Pericei-*Keller Tag*, Sălaj county,³⁸⁸ and so on. We will return to the typology of heating units in the next section. All dwellings at the settlement of Șura Mică-*Rișloave*, Sibiu county, were equipped with an oven in a corner or on the short sides, fitted in the wall or made of stone. In two cases, clay ovens without domes were discovered. In most cases, in the portion of the short side of the dwellings that remained unoccupied by an oven there was a stair fitted in the ground that could have served as a bench or a fireplace for an oven.³⁸⁹

Houses

Houses are fewer in number but have almost the same features as dwellings. The houses in this category are single-celled, and their depth varies between 0.20 and 0.50 m compared to the old ground level. Houses have been both rectangular and oval, two variants being attested to even within a single settlement.³⁹⁰ The walls were made of thin pegs or twigs, fastened with clay, and in most cases the floor is simple, made of beaten earth. Typically in the investigated settlements dwellings prevail, and houses have been only sporadically discovered. Such situations are known in Alba Iulia-*Stația de Salvare-Stadion*, Alba county,³⁹¹ Apa-*Moșia Brazilor*, Satu Mare county,³⁹² Dodești-*Călugăreasca*, Vaslui county,³⁹³ Gornea-*Căunița de Sus*, Caraș-Severin county,³⁹⁴ Moldova Veche-*Rîț*, Caraș-Severin county,³⁹⁵ Remetea Mare-*Gomila lui Pituț*, Timiș county,³⁹⁶ Sălașuri-*Panta*, Mureș

385 V. Ursachi, "Cercetări arheologice efectuate de muzeul de istorie din Roman," *Carpica* 1 (1968): 147–52; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 131, no. 537.

386 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 187; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 169.

387 Teodor, "Unele probleme," 256–57; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 38–39, no. 11.

388 D. Băcuet Crișan, "Contribuții la repertoriul arheologic al județului Sălaj. Descoperiri de suprafață din secolele VII–XIII d. Ch.," *AMP* 23 (2000): 526, no. 10; D. Băcuet-Crișan, *Contribuții arheologice privind nord-vestul României în secolele VII–XI. Cercetări în Depresiunea Silvaniei* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura MEGA/Editura POROLISSUM, 2014), 23; Băcuet-Crișan, *Așezările din secolele VII–IX*, 17.

389 Cosma, "Considerații privind așezările."

390 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 212.

391 M. Blăjan and Al. Popa, "Cercetările arheologice de la Alba Iulia-*Stația de salvare*," *MCA* 15 (1983): 375–80; M. Blăjan and Dan Botezatu, "Studiul arheologic și antropologic al mormintelor (sec. VIII) de la Alba Iulia," *Apulum* 37 (2000): 453–70.

392 L. Marta and R. Gindele, "Săpăturile de salvare din comuna Apa," *SM* 15–16 (1998–1999): 267–76.

393 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 59–61, fig. 25/d.

394 Uzum, "Mărturii arheologice," 1990, 205–266.

395 Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 88–92; Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 238.

396 Dulea, "Considerații," 210.

county,³⁹⁷ Vlădeni-Popina Blagodeasca, Ialomița county,³⁹⁸ and so on. We observe that, in some settlements, houses predominate numerically, as in Băiceni-Dâmbul lui Pletosu, Iași county.³⁹⁹ The lack of heating units inside this type of construction could mean they were used seasonally or as housing annexes. However, we have discovered many cases wherein the houses are equipped with fireplaces and ovens. By way of example are the findings from Poiana-Socola,⁴⁰⁰ Șoldănești rayon, Badon-La Răstignire, Sălaj county,⁴⁰¹ and Șieu-Odorhei-Somștauă, Bistrița-Năsăud county,⁴⁰² where the houses, rectangular in plan, had tone ovens arranged close to one of the corners, and in Band-Valea Rece, Mureș county,⁴⁰³ at which two houses with portable ovens were discovered, while in the settlements at Căscioarele-Valea Coșarului, Căscioarele-Valea Fântânilor, Călărași county, houses had open ovens.⁴⁰⁴ In the settlement at Sacoșu Mare-Burău, Timiș county, four settlements were discovered, two houses and two dwellings, all of them oval in plan, with a diameter between 3 and 3.5 m and one oven inside.⁴⁰⁵

In the hillforts houses of an elongated rectangular shape were discovered, built right next of the fortifications (waves or palisades). These houses had a width of 3.0 m to 6.0 m and an indeterminate length, as, for example, in the case of those found in the hillforts of Dobrynovcy II-Toloakă⁴⁰⁶ and Dăbâca-Cetate.⁴⁰⁷ The intended purpose of these constructions varied, and depended on hillforts' functions. They were used either as deposits or as a shelter for those guarding the hillfort. In the case of hillforts-sanctuaries, elongated houses had, most probably, a ritual function.

Fire Installations

Fire installations have been discovered both inside and outside of constructions. It explains their diverse functionality. The inside installations were used mainly for heating

397 Z. Székely, "Contribuții la cultura slavă în sec. VII-VIII în sud-estul Transilvaniei," *SCIV* 13 (1962): 54-56.

398 Păunescu and Rența, "Așezarea medevală timpurie," 60, 62.

399 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 42, no. 32.

400 AKM 6, 56; SPIK, 855.

401 D. Băcuet-Crișan and S. Băcuet-Crișan, "Două locuințe prefeudale descoperite în județul Sălaj," *AMP* 23 (2000): 499-501.

402 G. Rădulescu, "Sondajele din așezarea prefeudală de la Șieu-Odorhei jud. Bistrița-Năsăud," *RB* 9 (1995): 165-73.

403 Cosma, "Considerații privind așezările," 274; *RepMureș* 1995, 64, no. VIII.13.G.

404 V. Sîrbu, P. Damian, O. Damian, E. Alexandrescu, S. Pandrea, E. Safta, and A. Niculescu, *Așezări din zona Căscioarele-Greaca-Prundu-mileniile I î.Hr.-I d. Hr.-(Observații asupra unor habitate de pe malurile Lacului Greaca)*, Biblioteca ISTROS, 17 (Brăila: Editura ISTROS, 1996), 125-26.

405 M. Moroz-Pop, "Așezarea feudală timpurie de la Sacoșu Mare (com. Darova, jud. Timiș)," *Tibiscus* 5 (1978), 149-58; Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 107-12.

406 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 34-37.

407 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 157-59.

and cooking, and those inside workshops and the space between constructions were used for various economic activities.⁴⁰⁸ Most residential complexes possessed heating installations and some constructions even had two (as examples, dwelling no. 6 at Biharea-Grădina Sa Baraj and dwelling no. 1 at Cefa, Borșeni-Bulgărie, Neamț county⁴⁰⁹) or even three—as did dwelling no. 4 at Biharea-Grădina SA Baraj,⁴¹⁰ dwelling no. 30 at Izvoare-Biharea-La pod la Hărmănești, Neamț county,⁴¹¹ and so on. In the settlement at Epurenii-Șoldeni, Vaslui county, virtually all types of heating installations, both inside and outside of complexes, have been confirmed.⁴¹²

In terms of typology in the settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries north of the Lower Danube, we can distinguish two basic categories of heating installations, each of them with many sub-types: those for heating and cooking and those for handicraft occupations.⁴¹³ Next, we will describe the first category (heating and cooking installations), while the second one will be discussed in the chapter on economic development.

Simple Ovens

The first category includes open ovens, which can be divided into three types according to their arrangement. Open ovens are found both inside and outside of constructions, sometimes together with stone or clay ovens. In some settlements only open ovens have been found. In the settlement at Gătaia, Timis county, three dwellings were discovered, having inside of them oval-shaped fire ovens made of river stones covered with clay, each arranged in one of the corners.⁴¹⁴ In the settlement at Felnac, Arad county, forty dwellings have been investigated, each equipped with a circular oven with a diameter of between 40 and 60 cm, made from a row of river stones attached with a layer of clay. In some ovens, overlapping layers of clay have been observed, evidence of their long utilization. Near the dwellings, provision pits were discovered.⁴¹⁵

Simple ovens from earth, with or without a layer of clay paste, arranged at the floor level of the construction in one of the corners or in the middle of them, in some cases slightly curved, are found in: Arad-Cartierul Micălaca, Biharea-Grădina SA Baraj, Lazuri-Râțul lui Bela, Sânnicolau Român-Bereac. In some cases, the ovens were surrounded by stones: Cefa, Cicir, Lăpușel-Ciurgău, Panic-La blocuri, Izvoare-Biharea-La pod la

408 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 181–82; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 171.

409 Cucuș, “Contribuții,” 44–46; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 54, no. 99.

410 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 30.

411 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 69–70, fig. 15/1.

412 Coman, “Cercetările arheologice,” 292, 295; G. Coman, “Cercetările arheologice în sudul Moldovei cu privire la secolele V–XI,” *SCIV* 20 (1969): 290, no. 44.c; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 86, no. 283.

413 G. Coman, “Instalații pentru foc în așezările culturii Dridu în sudul Moldovei,” *Danubius* 2 (1970).

414 Mare, *Banatul*, 175–76, no. 112/2.

415 Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 42–61; Bejan, “Contribuții arheologice,” 230.

Härmănești, Neamț county. Simple fire ovens were found outside the dwellings, on the perimeter of these settlements: Izvoare-Bahna-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county,⁴¹⁶ Biharea-Lutărie 3, Cefa, Lăpușel-Ciurgău, Nușfălău-*Țigoiul lui Benedek*, Popeni, Cuceu, Vladimirescu, and so on.⁴¹⁷ Simple ovens, arranged from clay past, oval or circular in shape, surrounded by stones, are another possibility. To ensure fire protection from air currents, pit-ovens were arranged, round in shape, with a diameter of approximately 0.6 m and a depth of 0.30–0.35 m, such as in case of oven no. 3 at the settlement Izvoare-Bahna-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county.⁴¹⁸

Clay trays (portable clay ovens or trays with a chimney), placed directly on the floor of the constructions or outside them, are found at Izvoare-Biharea-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, Remetea Mare-*Gomila lui Pituț*.⁴¹⁹ This type of fireplace was placed on the top of ovens with stone walls (L2,4,10 Biharea-*Grădina SA Baraj*, L2 Cefa, Lăpușel-Ciurgău, Nușfălău-*Țigoiul lui Benedek*). *Clay trays* were rectangular or oval in shape, with the edges being 8–15 cm high, their walls 4–6 cm thick, and the bottom 6–8 cm thick. The length of the walls varied between 50 and 60 cm. According to some archaeologists, this type of fireplace cannot be considered a fire installation, but rather its annex.⁴²⁰ The trays were used in the household for sun-drying cereals and fruit.

Ovens

The first category also includes stone and clay ovens that are divided in three types according to their arrangement:

Stone ovens. Typically, these fire installations were built of river rocks and broken stones, having a parallelepipedic shape in the exterior. The walls delimited the oven inside, usually oval or round and slightly curved.⁴²¹ In some cases, stone walls were covered with clay. When the fireplace was rounded at the back, the oven thus had a horseshoe shape. The dimensions of the sides vary between 0.75 m and 1.0 m.⁴²² The burner is typically narrow enough to be capped with a stone slab. There have been some cases when storage was arranged in front of the burner pits for ash or charcoal.⁴²³ For the arrangement of ovens, stones which previously had another purpose were used, such as fragments of grinders from dwellings no. 3 and no. 6 at Biharea-*Grădina SA Baraj*. Some ovens had a base and walls of stone and a clay vault. Others had a portable clay oven placed in the

⁴¹⁶ I. Mitrea, "Așezarea prefeudală de la Izvoare-Bahna," *Carpica* 6 (1973–1974): 72–73.

⁴¹⁷ Băcuet-Crișan, *Contribuții arheologice*, 24; Băcuet-Crișan, *Așezările din secolele VII–IX*, 16.

⁴¹⁸ Mitrea, "Așezarea prefeudală," 72.

⁴¹⁹ A. Bejan, "Aspecte ale organizării economice, sociale și politice de pe teritoriul Banatului în secolele VIII–IX e.n.," *SIB* 6–7 (1981): 3–13.

⁴²⁰ The name of *portable oven* is inappropriate, they are actually elements of clay ovens Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 74; Cosma, "Considerații privind așezările," 273; Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 76.

⁴²¹ Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 230; Mare, *Banatul*, 163, no. 49/5.

⁴²² Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 75; Bejan, "Economia satului," 270.

⁴²³ Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 81.

upper part. Thus, based on features of the construction, several sub-types of ovens can be distinguished: vaulted ovens, ovens without vaults, and ovens with a fixed clay tray above them.⁴²⁴ In the areas where stone is rare, clay ovens prevail. This type of oven is characteristic of residential complexes, but it has been found separately as well.

Ovens dug into one of the walls of the house or in blocks of clay (sunken ovens, ovens for baking bread). These ovens were arranged by hollowing out an oven in one of the walls of the house or in a block of clay, and generally had a diameter of between 1.0 and 1.3 m, with a spherical vault 0.35–0.45 m high.⁴²⁵ The furnace of the oven, usually circular in shape, was higher than the construction's floor.⁴²⁶ This type of oven is also known in the sixth–seventh centuries⁴²⁷ and is very often seen outside of dwellings, as, for example, in the settlement at Dodești-Călugăreasca, Vaslui county, where three ovens were discovered in the space between constructions.⁴²⁸ On the surface of some fireplaces, fragmented portable ovens were discovered, which demonstrates their common use.⁴²⁹

The appearance of furnaces can be explained both by climatic changes that occurred in the early Middle Ages, imposing new living conditions in the cold season of the year and through the development of local communities or by the penetration of allogeneic elements that could have brought a new tradition in fire installation arrangements.

Household Annexes

Outbuildings

Among the discovered constructions a category of complexes stands out, which, in all likelihood, had a household function (sheds, barns, stables, etc.) The peculiarities of these constructions are similar to those of dwellings, but in most cases a thin layer of culture and a lack of fire installations inside are noticeable. Outbuildings have a rectangular shape and were dug into the soil, albeit not deeply (0.5 m).

Household Pits

Inside or near residential complexes, outbuildings, and workshops a series of pits have been discovered whose function and number vary from one settlement to another. In some settlements, the pits are concentrated in certain areas of the site, usually on the outskirts of the settlement as in Hligeni.⁴³⁰ The majority of pits were discovered within the settlement Raškov I-*Livada*, with 113 in total.⁴³¹ The pits are dug from 0.4 m to 2.5

424 Coman, "Instalații pentru foc," 164–66.

425 Păunescu et al., *Repertoriul arheologic*, 160–61.

426 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 74.

427 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 75.

428 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 73, fig. 58/1,2,4.

429 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 74.

430 Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*.

431 V. D. Baran, L. Ja. Karčina, and A.N. Nekrasova, "Ranneslavjanskije poselenija u s. Raškov," *AO v 1978 g.* (1979): 296.

m deep, but the most common are those with a depth of between 1.0 m and 2.0 m. The diameter of the pits' mouths is 0.8 m–1.6 m, and the diameter at the bottom is around 1.5–2.0 m. Accounting for the shape, the pits can be classified into: truncated cone, cylindrical, pear-shaped, and barrelled. Their diameter varies according to the shape. Typically, the diameter is smaller in the upper part and larger at the bottom of the pit. The bottom of the pits could be either horizontal or curved.

Their usefulness was diverse, both for storing provisions and for holding waste. In all likelihood, some pits, being first used as storage pits, were later transformed into waste pits.⁴³² Their strict placement into one of these two categories is difficult to do today. Inside of house no. 11 in the hillfort in Fundu Herții, Botosani county, two pits were discovered, both coated with clay on the inside and almost half-filled with charred cereals, which proves their use as provision pits.⁴³³ In the settlement at Archiud-*Fundătura*, Bistrița-Năsăud county, seven pits were discovered near a dwelling, which shows that the owner used the pits both to preserve supplies and to throw away waste,⁴³⁴ and in the settlement of Gornea-*Zomonite*, Caraș-Severin county, near eleven dwellings twelve waste pits were discovered.⁴³⁵ The citation of these findings can be discontinued, as these situations are typical for most investigated settlements.⁴³⁶

Thus, in the case of constructions whose walls were burnt or coated with clay⁴³⁷ and then fired, there are traces of charred cereal grains or clay pots with the remains of grains found inside, and so we can be sure that these complexes had the function of deposits, as the residue discovery inside the pits suggests their usage for domestic purposes.

Climatic factors, together with political ones, have directly influenced cultural, economic, and social milieus. Thus, the dry climate of the eighth century led to the location of settlements around water sources and even in the floodplains of rivers and lakes. Together with the changes of the climatic and the political order of the ninth century, the number and the area of human settlements spread over the Carpathian-Danubian-Dniester space increased considerably.

Mapping the settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries highlights some areas of a higher density than others. This situation represents, on one hand, the current level of research, as some areas have been better investigated than others, and on the other hand, the demographic situation of the period. In most cases, the settlements from

432 Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 146–51; Bejan, “Contribuții arheologice,” 238.

433 Petrescu-Dîmboviță and Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații*, 48, fig. 18/1–2.

434 Cosma, “Considerații privind așezările,” 274; C. Gaiu, “Vestigii feudale timpurii din nord-estul Transilvaniei,” *RB* 14 (2000): 379.

435 I. Uzum, “Locuirile medievale românești de la Gornea-Zomonite (com. Sichevița, jud. Craș-Severin),” *Banatica* 7 (1983): 250, 255–60.

436 R. Maxim-Alaiba, “Săpăturile arheologice din așezarea Gura Idrici, secolele VIII–IX (jud. Vaslui),” *AMM* 3–4 (1981–1982): 81–97; B. Csanád, *Die spätavarenzeitliche Siedlung von Eperjes (kom. Csongrád)* (Budapest, 1991), 25–26.

437 Čebotarenko and Ščerbakova, “Raskopki poselenija u s. Etulia,” 152.

the researched period are located in those regions favourable for agriculture, which demonstrates the sedentary lifestyle of the population. The most numerous sites are large settlements, within which certain functional areas are distinguished—the urban territory and the not-urban territory. Settlements' sizes vary from one case to another, and it is thus difficult to reconstitute an estimation of the occupied areas because of the lack of fully investigated settlements.

Chapter 3

ECONOMY

THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT and humans' daily needs drove the inhabitants of the Carpathian-Danubian regions to practice certain economic activities during the early Middle Ages. The demonstrated demographic growth in the regions to the north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries shows that economic efforts were providing the population with the products necessary for living. The investigation of archaeological remains discovered in settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries contributes to our reconstruction of economic occupations and the level of their development. The diversity of landforms and natural resources facilitated the development of a human habitat and the practice of various economic activities characteristic of both sedentary and nomadic populations. Thus, the regions west of the Western Carpathians with flat ground were propitious for nomad populations practicing, in particular, cattle breeding, and the rest of the Carpathian-Danubian territories were inhabited by a sedentary population, mainly practicing agriculture.

Agriculture

In terms of their geographical distribution, most settlements from the studied period are located on lands favourable for agriculture, which, with its two branches—soil cultivation and cattle breeding—represents the main occupations of communities in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space in the eighth–ninth centuries.¹

Soil Cultivation

Soil cultivation, as the most important branch of agriculture, was widely practiced by human communities north of the Lower Danube since the Neolithic Age. The economic importance of agriculture in these regions was reflected in a number of studies,² benefiting from comparative analysis in the context of Central and Southeastern

1 M. Comşa, "Date privind pomicultura pe teritoriul României în mileniul I al e.n.," *Litua* 3 (1986): 190–91.

2 N. Edroiu, Gyulai, "Evoluția plugului în țările române în epoca feudală," *AMN* 2 (1965): 307; V. Neamțu, "Hutte et demi-hutte. Un problème de terminologie," *Anuarul I.I.A. "A.D. Xenopol"* 24 (1987): 9–16; G. Coman, "Contribuții la cunoașterea vieții agrare în Moldova în sec. V–XII," *Ialomița* (1983): 53–66; Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*; D. Gh. Teodor, "Descoperiri arheologice în Moldova referitoare la agricultura din secolele VI–XI e.n.," in *Terra Nostra, Culegere de materiale privind istoria agrară a României* (București, 1973): 223–32; M. Comşa, "Grădinăritul în mileniul I e.n. pe teritoriul României," *Pontica* 13 (1980): 164–84; Șt. Olteanu, "Agricultura la est și sud de Carpați în sec. IX–XIV (I)," *MN* 1 (1974): 35–55; Olteanu, *Societatea romanească*; E. I. Emandi, "Cultura plantelor în nordul Moldovei (secolele IX–XV) în lumina cercetărilor paleobotanice," *Hierax* 2 (1979): 51–84; Gh. Postică, "Agricultura medievală

Europe in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages.³ Soil cultivation depends on a number of factors relating to the geographical, pedological, and technological order.⁴ Archaeological evidence regarding plant cultivation by the inhabitants of the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic space in the eighth and the ninth centuries consists of farm utensils, constructions for the storage and processing of cereals, traces of grains, and the remains of straw, discovered in the charred form or as imprints on pieces of clay. Using animals as labour, both for everyday household needs and for farming, may be demonstrated by the remains of domestic animals such as horses and cattle and by the presence of pieces of harness.⁵

Agricultural Utensils

One of the most important categories of archaeological discoveries reflecting agriculture is the utensils themselves (coulters, plough knives and rakers, scythes, sickles, grinders, mattocks, pruning knives, spades etc.).⁶ The discovery of early medieval agricultural deposits in the settlements at Curcani, Călărași county,⁷ Bratei and Șelimbăr, Sibiu county, Radovanu, Călărași county, Dragosloveni, Câmpineanca and Budești, Vrancea county, Grumezoaia, Vaslui county, and Bârlogu, Argeș county, among others, proves both the importance of these economic activities and their level of development.⁸ Among the most important tools related to tillage are the parts of a plough (coulters, plough knife, and raker). The discovery of only the metal elements of ploughing tools suggests that in the eighth–ninth centuries ploughs with wooden bodies were still used.⁹

timpurie în spațiul pruto-nistrean,” in *Studia in honorem Ion Niculiță* (Chișinău, 1999), 268–79; Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 54–59.

3 J. Henning, *Südosteuropa zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, Schriften zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte 42 (Berlin, 1987); F. Curta, “Blacksmiths, Warriors, and Tournaments of Value: Dating and Interpreting Early Medieval Hoards of Iron Implements in Eastern Europe,” *EN* 7 (1997): 211–68.

4 J. Koder, “Historical Aspects of a Recession of Cultivated Land at the End of the Late Antiquity in the East Mediterranean,” in *Evaluation of Land Surfaces Cleared from Forests in the Mediterranean Region During the Time of the Roman Empire*. Paläoklimaforschung. Paleoclimate Research 10, ed. B. Frenzel (Stuttgart, Jena, New York, 1994), 157–67; J. Koder, “Land Use and Settlement: Theoretical Approaches,” in *General Issues in the Study of Medieval Logistics: Sources, Problems and Methodologies* (History of Warfare, 36), ed. J. F. Haldon (Leiden, Boston, 2006), 159–83.

5 S. Musteață, “Creșterea animalelor domestice, vânătoarea și pescuitul la nordul Dunării de Jos în sec. VIII–IX,” *Arheologia Medievală* 6 (2007): 129–39.

6 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 59.

7 M. Comșa and C. Deculescu, “Un depozit de unelte și arme descoperit la Curcani (jud. Ilfov),” *SCIV* 3 (1972): 469–73.

8 M. Comșa and Gh. Constantinescu, “Depozitul de unelte și arme din epoca feudală timpurie descoperit la Dragosloveni (jud. Vrancea),” *SCIV* 3 (1969): 425–36.

9 A. V. Černecov, “O periodizaciji rannej istorii vostočnoslavjanskih pahotnyh orudij,” *SA* 3 (1972): 137–39.

Plough coulter (A1 type after Henning). Iron coulters, discovered in the settlements at Bazga-Răducăneni, Iași county,¹⁰ Bârlogu,¹¹ Dealu Morii, Bacău county, Echimăuți, Rezina rayon,¹² Ghenci-Lutărie, Satu Mare county,¹³ Lazuri-Râtul lui Béla, Satu Mare county,¹⁴ Pogonești, Vaslui county,¹⁵ Mănăstirea-Grădinărie, Vaslui county,¹⁶ Revno I-Livada,¹⁷ Șimonești-Panta de stejari, Harghita county,¹⁸ and so on, find their analogues in a number of sites south of the Danubian regions (Map 2).¹⁹ In the eighth and the ninth centuries, the *tiller* was widely used, with or without a socket rod, with a triangular and symmetrical wooden body and a coultter and plough knife attached.²⁰ Plough with a socket rod could be used only on soft or previously cultivated soil. A plough with a socket rod was more practical for fields with trodden or flinty soil or which contained roots and stems. Asymmetric coultter has a working side that implies attaching the mould board to overthrow the rut. The coultter's construction allowed it to fix two positions, either horizontally or at an angle, corresponding to the two types of the plough—with or without a socket rod. The pieces in this category were found in Mănăstirea-Grădinărie, Vaslui county²¹ and Pogonești-La Vernescu, Vaslui county,²² but attributing them to the ninth–tenth centuries is questionable.²³ An asymmetrical coultter is an element of the plough itself, widely used in the regions north of the Lower Danube during the Middle Ages; a symmetrical coultter became a characteristic feature of the most Southeastern European regions during the eighth–tenth centuries.²⁴

Plough knives (E1 type after Henning) (Map 2). Another element of the plough is the knife, which has been widely attested in the settlements north of the Lower Danube

10 Coman, "Contribuții la cunoașterea vieții agrare," 55.

11 M. Comșa, "Date privind agricultura în sudul Munteniei în secolele VIII–X," in *ISTRO-PONTICA—Muzeul Tulcean la a 50-a aniversare 1950–2000. Omagiu lui Simion Gravrîlă la 45 de ani de activitate 1955–2000*, ed. M. Iacob, E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, and Fl. Topoleanu (Tulcea, 2000), 356.

12 Hîncu, *Băștinașii*, 79.

13 Némethi, *Repertoriul arheologic*, 71; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 191.

14 Gh. Lazin, "Două piese de metal din sec. VIII–IX descoperite în localitatea Lazuri jud. Satu Mare," *SM* 5–6 (1981–1982): 137–42.

15 Coman, "Contribuții," 55.

16 Coman, "Cercetările arheologice," 282.

17 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 38, fig. 14/5.

18 A coultter was found in a dwelling. Székely, "Săpăturile executate," 312–13; Cosma, "Considerații privind așezările," 275.

19 Henning, *Südosteuropa*, 53, pl. 21.

20 Coman, "Contribuții," 57.

21 Coman, "Cercetările arheologice," 282.

22 Coman, "Contribuții," 55.

23 Olteanu, "Agricultura," 47–49; V. Vornic, S. Tabuncic, and L. Ciobanu, "Un brăzdar de plug descoperit la Ialoveni. Contribuții la cunoașterea uneltelor de arat din spațiul est-carpatic în epocile romană și medievală," *RIM* 3 (2007): 25–27.

24 Henning, *Südosteuropa*, 53, pl. 21.

in the eighth–ninth centuries (Bârlălești-*Stanția*, Vaslui county,²⁵ Dăbâca-*Cetate*, Cluj county,²⁶ Echimăuți, Rezina rayon,²⁷ and Lopatna, Orhei rayon²⁸). The pieces were made of an iron bar enlarged at one end, with lengths ranging between 30 to 40 cm, out of which thirteen to sixteen precede the blade, 3 to 5 cm wide, sharp at the front, and with a rectangular clamp. The function of the plough knife, attached in front of the coulter, was to facilitate its penetration into the soil. The knife is an essential improvement for agricultural tools for ploughing. It contributed to the utensil's efficiency growth while facilitating tillage. Under these conditions, ploughing depths reached up to 10 to 15 cm.²⁹

Plough rakers. A plough raker is a piece made of iron (P2 type after Henning) or bone, usually with dimensions of between 8 and 10 cm, used for coulter cleaning of grass and soil. These are frequently found in the settlements of this period at Curcani, Călărași county,³⁰ Alcedar, Bârlădeni-Vaslui, Brănești, Curcani,³¹ Dodești-*Călugăreasca*, Vaslui county,³² Floreni, Hansca, Hligeni, Mălușteni and Bârlălești, Vaslui county, Trebujeni-*Scoc*, Vulturești-*Șesul Bârladului*, Vaslui county,³³ and so on. Plough rakers found in the sites north of the Lower Danube find their analogies both in the regions to the south of the river and in other zones of Eastern Europe.³⁴

The appearance of improved plough elements such as iron coulters and plough knives demonstrates the use of an upgraded plough compared to the sixth–seventh centuries and increased the efficiency of this occupation, thus facilitating the transition to a new system of tillage.³⁵

Sickles and scythes (H2, H4 and I5 types after Henning). The sickle was extensively used to harvest cereals in the Middle Ages, but scythes have also been found in some settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries. The sickles were of two types. The first type, with a slightly arched edge, resembles those of earlier centuries. The second type is represented by sickles with a well-arched blade and a sharp nib, with either a square or a rectangular long tail, thickened toward the blade and provided with a stalk which can be fixed in a handle made of wood, bone, or horn. Fragments or even whole

25 Coman, "Cercetările arheologice," 292.

26 Pascu et al., "Cetatea Dabîcă," 158–61; A. Canache and Fl. Curta, "Depozite de unelte și arme medievale timpurii de pe teritoriul României," *Mousaios* 4 (1994): 206.

27 Hîncu, *Băștinașii*, 79.

28 Fëdorov, "Naselenie," 204, 290, table 68/2.

29 Fëdorov, "Naselenie," 290.

30 Comșa and Deculescu, "Un depozit," 470, fig. 2/6.

31 Comșa, "Date privind agricultura," 355.

32 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 75, fig. 29/2.

33 Teodor, "Unele probleme privind evoluția," 256–57; Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 77, fig. 25/4; 27/4–5.

34 Pletneva, *Na slavjano-hazarskom*, 94, fig. 46.

35 Botzan, *Medii și viețuire*, 95; Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 70; Pascu et al., "Dinamica structurilor demo-economice," 162–63.

sickles have been found at Arad-*Micălaca*,³⁶ Borniș-*Vărărie*,³⁷ Brănești, Orhei rayon,³⁸ Dobrynovcy, Chernivtsi region,³⁹ Dodești, Vaslui county,⁴⁰ Durlești, Chișinău municipality,⁴¹ Etulia, UTAG,⁴² Hansca, Ialoveni rayon,⁴³ Iernut-*Sf. Gheorghe-Pe Șes*, Mureș county,⁴⁴ Izvoare-Bahna, Neamț county,⁴⁵ Izvoru, Giurgiu county,⁴⁶ Revno,⁴⁷ Sărățeni-*La Școală*,⁴⁸ Sighișoara-*Dealul Viilor*,⁴⁹ Teiuș,⁵⁰ Trebujeni, and so on. In the settlements at Poiana, Suceava county⁵¹ and Bucov-*Tioca*, Prahova county,⁵² as well as in the depository of utensils from Curcani, Călărași county,⁵³ fragments of scythes were discovered, dated to the ninth century by the authors, which find their analogues with a number of pieces discovered to the south of the Danube.⁵⁴ Scythe fragments are much rarer than sickles, which means that, in the eighth–ninth centuries, the sickle was extensively used at harvest time.

Other agricultural utensils. In addition to the utensils described above, other categories of tools also used in agriculture were discovered. These include fragments or whole pieces of mattocks (K10, 11, 23 types after Henning), spade heads (D1 type after Henning), pruning knives (G4a and b types after Henning), planters, and so on, which all clearly had a direct link with agricultural practices. These categories of objects demonstrate that

36 Dulea, "Considerații," 248.

37 D. Gh. Teodor and Rodica Popovici, "Așezarea medievală timpurie de la Borniș-*Vărărie*," județul Neamț," *MA* 19 (1994): 338, fig. 4/2.

38 I. G. Hynku, *Poselenija XI–XIV vekov v orgeevskih kodrah Moldavii* (Kișinev, 1969), 54, fig. 60/2.

39 Timoščuk, *Slovjani Pivničnoj*, 43, fig. 18/32; 1978, 77, fig. 26/2–3.

40 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 77, fig. 26/2–3.

41 I. S. Tentjuk, "Raskopki poselenij u s. Durlești," in SPDPM (Kișinev, 1988), 77–88; Ion Tentiuc, *Cercetări arheologice în așezarea Durlești-Valea Babei*, *AM* 17 (1994): 253–69; Tentiuc, *Contribuții la istoria și arheologia spațiului pruto-nstreaan. Siturile de la Durlești și Molești* (Chișinău: Bons Offices, 2012), 30–93.

42 Smilenko and Kozlovskij, "Srednevekovye poselenija," 80; S. M. Jovkov, "Etulija VII–novoissledovanyj pamjatnik balkano-dunajskoj kul'tury," *AIM v 1974–1976 gg.* (1981): 155, fig. 3/2.

43 I. A. Rafalovič, *Slavjane VI–IX vekov v Moldavii* (Kișinev, 1972), 112, fig. 17, 4–6.

44 Cosma, "Considerații," 275.

45 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 73, 82, fig. 48/12.

46 B. Mitrea, "Unele probleme în legătură cu necropola prefeudală de la Izvorul (r. Giurgiu)," *SCIV* 18 (1967): 449, fig. 3; Comșa, "Date privind agricultura," 355.

47 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 38, fig. 14/2.

48 Coman, "Cercetările arheologice," 288.

49 Baltag, "Date pentru un studiu arheologic," 77–88; Cosma, "Considerații," 275.

50 K. Horedt, *Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei sec. IV–XIII* (București, 1958), 165; Comșa, "Date privind agricultura," 355.

51 Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 303.

52 The scythe had a spin to fix the shaft. M. Comșa, *Cultura materială veche românească (Așezările din secolele VIII–X de la Bucov–Ploiești)* (București, 1978), 44, fig. 30/5.

53 Comșa and Deculescu, "Un depozit," 470, fig. 2/9,10.

54 Henning, *Südosteuropa*, 89, pl. 43.

the people from this area, besides cereal cultivation, also practiced other agricultural pursuits, such as viticulture, fruit harvesting, and gardening.⁵⁵ The discovery of pruning knives⁵⁶ and planters,⁵⁷ together with grape stones in a number of settlements north of the Lower Danube, has certified the practice of viticulture. Pruning knives discovered in settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries north of the Lower Danube resemble the pieces found in Southeastern Europe.⁵⁸

Pomiculture also occupies a special place in the economic activity of those people north of the Danube, as the fruit is one of the major products of local food traditions both during the warm and the cold periods of the year. The proof of their importance for human nutrition in the communities north of the Lower Danube is the traces of plum, pear, cherry, apple, and so on. Pits were discovered inside the archaeological complexes of the eighth–ninth centuries. Fruit drying was extensively developed among early medieval communities,⁵⁹ with a proof of this being especially arranged drying facilities.

The practice of gardening is also evidenced by traces of charred seeds and the agricultural utensils specific to this occupation—the mattock and spade. In the utensil depositary at Curcani, Călărași county, they discovered a mattock with a leaf-shaped blade and a long trunk, rectangular in section, with a hole for attaching a wooden shaft.⁶⁰ In the settlements at Săcuieni-*Dengeheleghiu*⁶¹ and Spinoasa-*Dealul Catarg*⁶² iron mattocks, slightly curved in profile, were found, whose upper parts, rectangular in shape, were widened where they met the shaft. Their edge, in the form of a smaller rectangle, was widened, and the blades are trapezoidal.⁶³ The spade, with a wooden body and an iron blade with edges, was typical for most regions of Southeastern Europe in the early medieval period.⁶⁴ Spade heads were made of two welded iron plates beaten together, and were horseshoe-shaped with a sharp cutting edge.⁶⁵ Thus, the spade and the mattock were widely used to dig, plant, and care for gardening cultures, pomiculture, and viticulture.

Paleobotanical Research

Inside some investigated complexes charred seeds of different species of grain have been discovered, proving their cultivation in the eighth–ninth centuries. Straw and

55 Comșa, “Grădinăritul”; Comșa, “Date privind pomicultura.”

56 Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 20; Bejan, “Contribuții,” 236; Comșa, *Cultura materială*, 44, fig. 106/9.

57 Postică, “Agricultura medievală timpurie,” 271.

58 D. Gh. Teodor, “Elemente și influențe bizantine în Moldova în secolele VI–XI,” *SCIV* 21 (1970): 115; Henning, *Südosteuropa*, 95, pl. 46.

59 Comșa, “Date privind pomicultura,” 181.

60 Comșa and Deculescu, “Un depozit,” 469, fig. 2/8.

61 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 222.

62 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 147.

63 Henning, *Südosteuropa*, 82, pl. 38.

64 Henning, *Südosteuropa*, 74, pl. 32.

65 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 185; Comșa, *Cultura materială*, 48, fig. 30/9.

wheat grains were found in the pieces of clay and straw making up the constructions' walls.⁶⁶ In the settlement at Bucov-Ploiești, even the imprint of a wheatear could be seen on a piece of rough brick, and in Dridu they discovered petrified ears of wheat.⁶⁷ Most carpological material⁶⁸ is represented by charred remains discovered inside some closed complexes and impressions on pottery, both rough-cast, and cultural layers, the analysis of which allows to know the species of cereals cultivated by the population in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space in the eighth–ninth centuries. The analysis of charred grains from the bottoms of provision pits and the walls of ceramic vessels found at Bucov-Tioca and Bucov-Rotari,⁶⁹ Etulia, UTAG,⁷⁰ Fundu Herții, Botoșani county,⁷¹ Izvoare, Giurgiu county,⁷² Roșiești, Vaslui county,⁷³ Rudi, Soroca rayon,⁷⁴ Șabo, Odessa region,⁷⁵ and so on shows the cultivation of several species of cereals: club wheat and common wheat (*Triticum compactum* and *Triticum aestivum*), four-rowed barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), oats and rye (*Avena* and *Secale cereale*), proso millet and witchgrass (*Panicum miliaceum*⁷⁶ and *Panicum capillare*), and others. In the settlements at Hansca, Molești, Recea, Republic of Moldova, and so on, seeds of vegetables such as peas and beans were found.

Wheat, due to its nutritive qualities,⁷⁷ has played a special role in human nutrition since ancient times, but the presence of traces of *Triticum* in the eighth–ninth centuries' sites is underwhelming. Instead, according to carpological studies, barley (*Hordeum*), rye (*Secale*), and oats (*Avena*) underwent a significant expansion in the early Middle Ages.⁷⁸ Thus, in the settlements in the Bukovina, autumn rye takes first place,⁷⁹ while in the settlement at Rudi it was oats then millet,⁸⁰ and in the settlements at Roșiești, Vaslui county and Reduță, it was barley then rye.

66 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 89.

67 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 71.

68 M. Cârciumar, M. na Pleșa, and Monica Mărgărit, *Omul și plantele. Manual de analiză carpologică* (Târgoviște, 2005), 13.

69 Comșa, *Cultura materială*, 45.

70 Smilenko and Kozlovskij, "Srednevekove poselenija," 80.

71 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 67; M. Cârciumar and R. Dincă, "Studiul botanic al unor semințe carbonizate din câteva așezări arheologice aparținând evului mediu," *CA* 11 (1998–2000): 590–91.

72 Cârciumar and Dincă, "Studiul botanic," 589.

73 Cârciumar and Dincă, "Studiul botanic," 589–90.

74 Roșal' and Fëdorov, "Žilye i proizvodstvennye," 158.

75 Smilenko and Kozlovskij, "Poselenija u sel Șabo," 108–9.

76 Cârciumar and Dincă, "Studiul botanic," 589.

77 Cârciumar et al., *Omul și plantele*, 66.

78 Cârciumar et al., *Omul și plantele*, 75, 79, 87.

79 Timoščuk, *Slovjani Pivničnoj*, 101; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 90.

80 Roșal' and Fëdorov, "Žilye i proizvodstvennye," 158.

The cultivation of winter crops, especially of rye, is an indicator of stability and of a more advanced level of agriculture in this period.⁸¹

Agricultural Installations and Constructions

Facilities for food storage

The harvest was usually stored in provision pits and sheds. In the eighth–ninth centuries, piriform pits and pits in the shape of a truncated cone were used for storing supplies and were located inside the dwellings and in their immediate vicinity; in some cases, a concentration of pits in the space between the constructions or at one edge of the settlement has been found.

The dimensions of the holes vary: their depth ranges from 0.5 m to 2.0 m, and the diameter of the bottom varies between 1.0 and 1.5 m. In order to be more easily covered, the upper part is smaller in diameter. In such pits between several hundred kilograms and several tons of grain could be stored.⁸² In Fundu Herții, some dwellings had two or even three pits of small dimensions in one of the corners with slightly burned walls, filled with charred grain, among which the seeds of millet, barley, and wheat could be identified, approximately 50–60 kg worth,⁸³ and in the settlement at Epureni the provision pit was provided with well-polished walls and had a capacity of approximately 1,500 kg. In order to increase their impermeability, the provision pits' walls were often smoothed and burned, covered with clay, or lined with straw and then filled with clay and burned, so that the pits became impermeable and thus less accessible to rodents.⁸⁴ Harvested cereals were kept for use in smaller pits inside the house or in large clay pots—supply pots. The height of such vessels could reach up to 50 cm with a maximum diameter of 35 cm, such as the vessels found in Hansca, Hucea,⁸⁵ and elsewhere.

Installations for drying agricultural products

After harvesting, cereal crops were dried first and then ground. In the summer they were dried in the open air, and during the wet period, various household constructions were used—sunken or stone ovens with a clay tray or wattle on their tops. The latter were used for drying fruit as well. Spring wheat, unlike the autumn wheat, remained uncleaned after threshing and could be peeled off by heating or drying.⁸⁶ Clay trays were thus widely used in early medieval settlements for drying spring wheat. Clay trays were made of a loose, slightly burned paste. These trays had a rectangular shape with slightly rounded corners and dimensions of roughly 40 by 60 cm. Their edges were vertical and 8 to 10 cm high. The exterior walls were rough, and the inside part was smoothed. The wall thickness was generally 3 to 5 cm. Fragments of similar vessels have been found in

⁸¹ Z. V. Januševič, "Ostatki kul'turnyh rastenij iz arheologičeskikh raskopok srednevekovyh pamjatnikah Moldavii," *AIM v 1968–1969 gg.* (1972): 250–56.

⁸² Rafalovič, *Slavjane*, 88; Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 67; Postică, "Agricultura medievală," 276.

⁸³ Teodor, "Așezări întărite," 201.

⁸⁴ Pascu et al., "Dinamica structurilor," 165.

⁸⁵ Rafalovič, *Slavjane*, 113.

⁸⁶ Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 74.

most settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries investigated so far. Another type of installation for drying agricultural products is stationary hearths, which resembles the previous but were installed directly on the oven surface, such as in the case of the ovens at Raškov I-*Livada* or Hansca.⁸⁷

Installations for processing cereals

In the eighth–ninth centuries for cereals handmade stone grinders used for milling were frequently found in the studied settlements, such as, for example, Berghin-*În Peri*, Alba county,⁸⁸ Biharia-*Lutărie 3*, Bihor county,⁸⁹ Comana de Jos-*Gruicul Văcarului*, Dăbâca, Dodești, Hligeni,⁹⁰ Ieșelnița, Izvoare-Bahna-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, Lăpușel-*Ciurgău*, Murgeni, Noșlac, Parța-*Surcobara*, Pescari-*Cula*, Popeni, Cuceu, Simonești-*Panta de stejari*, Târgșoru Vechi-*La Mănăstiri*,⁹¹ Timișoara-*Fratelia*,⁹² and so on.⁹³ Grinders were made of sandstone, with a circular shape and a diameter of 0.40 to 0.50 m and a thickness of approximately 5 to 10 cm, and were equipped with an orifice in the central part. The grinders, discovered in settlements from the sixth–seventh centuries, were flat, but beginning in the eighth–ninth centuries grinders with the concave bottom stone and a convex top stone had been used,⁹⁴ the fact which contributed to the economic growth of households in this period compared to the previous centuries.

Cereal threshing tools have not been preserved, but in all likelihood, as indicated by ethnographic data, a flail made of two pieces of wood held together with a piece of skin was used for this purpose. The grains collected after threshing were dried and stored to be ground and used for daily food needs. The straw that remained from threshing was used both to feed cattle and for household purposes, i.e. mixed with clay for coating the walls of ovens, provision pits, and dwellings, and for making portable ovens.

Compared with the sixth–seventh centuries, the number of settlements and agricultural utensils practically doubled and even tripled in some areas during the eighth–ninth centuries.⁹⁵ This situation clearly shows large differences in the economic occupations pursued between these two chronological periods. Climatic cooling in the sixth–seventh centuries, as mentioned above, led to increased humidity and the raising of the water level in lakes, rivers, and swamps. The reduction of fertile areas had a direct impact on agriculture in the early Middle Ages. Climatic warming after the second half of the seventh

⁸⁷ Postică, "Agricultura medievală," 277.

⁸⁸ I. Al. Aldea, Eugen Stoicovici, and M. Blăjan, "Cercetări arheologice în cimitirul prefeudal de la Ghirbom (com. Berghin, jud. Alba)," *Apulum* 18 (1980): 151–52; Blăjan and Botezatu, "Studiul arheologic," 457.

⁸⁹ Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 181–82.

⁹⁰ Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, 50, fig. CXVI/1–3.

⁹¹ Constantinescu, "Aspecte privind evoluția," 233, no. 148.

⁹² Dulea, "Considerații," 247; Mircea Mare, *Banatul între secolele IV–IX. Meșteșuguri și ocupații tradiționale*, 2 (Timișoara, 2005): 57.

⁹³ Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 73.

⁹⁴ Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 90.

⁹⁵ Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 61; Henning, *Südosteuropa*, pl. 20–21; 30–31; 42–43; 45–46; Postică, *Civilizația medievală*, 146–55.

century and the reduction of precipitation and the water level made possible the settlement of human communities in river valleys and the exploitation of alluvial areas, highly favourable for agriculture. This situation is typical for most regions of Eastern Europe.⁹⁶

The extensive cultivation of the soil requires deforestation, which was not so easy to accomplish in the conditions prevailing in the early Middle Ages. We must, therefore, take into account the quality of soil available for agricultural practices.⁹⁷ In most cases, people looked to fertile unforested lands for cultivation, such as for example, river meadows. Based on these facts, they used certain types of utensils to work the soil. Thus, we find that the populations of Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe used both asymmetrical and symmetrical plough coulter during the eighth–tenth centuries.⁹⁸ Symmetrical, triangular, and broad forms of plough coulters were used to plough lowlands or areas of long-established tillage in particular. Because, as noted by S. A. Gorbanenko, another type of coulters was needed in order to obtain the highest yield if deforested areas with tight-packed earth full of roots. These coulters were usually asymmetric, with an elongated body and a single blade.⁹⁹ The impoverishment of cultivated areas drove the inhabitants to seek new and fertile lands, which drove a cycle of the regular movement of the main areas of the settlements and a return after a certain time to the old places. The stratigraphy of some settlements from the eighth–tenth centuries clearly reflects this pattern, as some dwellings were rebuilt twice on the same ground.¹⁰⁰ This phenomenon can also be an explanation for the large number of settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries in certain micro-areas. We do not exclude in this context the practice of an *itinerant agriculture* by communities moving seasonally into the fertile regions north of the Lower Danube.¹⁰¹ A proof of this could be the large number of agricultural utensil deposits certified in the Carpathian-Danubian regions dating from the eighth–tenth centuries.¹⁰² The impressive number of archaeological sites documented as dating from the eighth–ninth centuries could also be a result of the mass movement of some agricultural communities from the regions of Southeastern and Eastern Europe into the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space.

As for the use of traction in cultivation of the soil, it is complicated, at least in the present state of research, to attempt to estimate the weight of cattle and horses,¹⁰³ as propounded by some researchers.¹⁰⁴

96 V.Ja. Koneckij and K. G. Samojlov, "K probleme vznikovenija pašennogo zemledelija v lesnoj zone vostočnoj Evropy v I tys. n.e.," *Archeologičeskie Vesti* 7 (2000): 326.

97 S. A. Gorbanenko, "Okružajuščaja sreda i slavjanske pamjatniki vtoroj poloviny I tys. n.e.," *Stratum plus* 5 (2003–2004).

98 Henning, *Südosteuropa*, pl. 21.

99 Gorbanenko, "Okružajuščaja sreda," 421; S. A. Gorbanenko, "Zemlerobstvo slov'jan ostan'oj četverti I tis. n.e.," *Archeologija* 3 (2006): 78.

100 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 73, fig. 4.

101 H. H. Stahl, *Traditional Romanian Village Communities. The Transition From the Communal to the Capitalist Mode of Production in the Danube Region* (Cambridge, Paris: Cambridge University Press, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1980), 61.

102 Canache and Curta, "Depozite de unelte"; Curta, "Blacksmiths."

103 Musteață, "Creșterea animalelor."

104 Fëdorov, "Naselenie," 204; Timoščuk, *Vostočnye slavjane*, 146.

During the eighth–ninth centuries human communities, in general, exhibited the features of a sedentary society based on an agricultural economy (plants cultivation, livestock breeding), together with the numerous crafts and household occupations typical of the sedentary lifestyle. Most settlements were located on terraces around streams, rivers, and springs, on lands favourable for agriculture, and with some underground resources (salt, iron ore, etc.) that facilitated practicing various economic occupations. The economy of the eighth–ninth centuries had a versatile character oriented towards consumption. Most of the goods produced were meant to ensure the population of sufficiency in everything necessary for life. In some cases, we can talk about the existence of exchange relations, largely based on natural exchange.¹⁰⁵

The production and security of provisions, including their quality, depended on the geographical and climatic conditions of each region. Geo-climatic facts permanently influenced the human lifestyle, but our understanding of them still remains limited. Therefore, contemporary technological possibilities for scientific investigations must be developed and used as much as possible.¹⁰⁶

Livestock Breeding

Livestock breeding has been a traditional occupation for the population north of the Lower Danube since ancient times. Understanding the inter-relationship between man and animal in the historical past is an effort carried out today with the help of archaeozoological research. The analysis of the skeletal remains of mammals, birds, and fish, archaeological discovers gives us important data on livestock breeding, hunting, and fishing. We can reconstruct the role and the importance of these occupations during different historical stages with the help of archaeozoological studies.¹⁰⁷ At the same time, animal resources, operating strategies, and slaughter techniques used by different communities can be analysed based on archaeological data.¹⁰⁸

Archaeological analysis allows us to reconstruct the probable structure of the livestock economy in the eighth–ninth centuries, including the recognition of traction animals' species and the differentiation of those raised for food or raw materials. In most

105 S. Musteață, "Contribuții la cunoașterea cultivării solului la nordul Dunării inferioare în secolele VIII–IX," *Arheologia Medievală* 7 (2008): 37–53.

106 J. Herrmann and K.-U. Heußner, "Dendrochronologie, Archäologie und Frühgeschichte vom 6. bis 12. Jh. in den Gebieten zwischen Saale, Elbe und Oder," in *Ausgrabungen und Funde* 36 (1991): 255–90; Tomasz Ważny, *Dendrochronologia obiektów zabytkowych w Polsce* (Gdańsk: Muzeum Archeologiczne, 2001); Ó. Eggertsson and A. Baboș, "Dendrochronological dating in Maramureș with Special Emphases on Objects from the Maramureș Museum in Sighetul Marmăției, Romania," *Tradiții și patrimoniu* 2–3 (2002): 40–49; I. Popa and Z. Kern, "Climate-growth Relationship of Tree Species from a Mixed Stand of Apuseni Mts., Romania," *Dendrochronologia* 24 (2007): 109–15.

107 L. Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia spațiului românesc medieval* (Iași, 2003); S.-M. Stanc, *Relațiile omului cu lumea animală. Arheozoologia secolelor IX–X d.Hr. pentru zonele extracarpătice de est și de sud ale României* (Iași, 2006).

108 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 139.

researched settlements osteological material from domestic animals predominates, which demonstrates the importance of this sector for the population of the eighth–tenth centuries north of the Lower Danube.¹⁰⁹ Among domestic animals, large horned cattle predominate, a situation characteristic for both the lowland and plateau areas.

Domestic Animals

Cattle (Bos taurus). Among mammals, domestic cattle are ranked first,¹¹⁰ there were some exceptions depending on geographic region where their share was equal to that of pigs, sheep, and goats.¹¹¹ The remains of cattle predominate in the settlements from the Tisza Plain.¹¹² Oxen were mostly used for work due to their capacity to withstand extreme temperatures, both in winter and in summer, and their greater pulling capacity. In the eighth–tenth centuries, the size of withers for cattle was between 110 and 115 cm.¹¹³ In the settlements at Bucov, in the Prahova county, and at Dridu, in the Ialomița county, there are more females than males in the total number of estimated individuals.¹¹⁴ Males, in all likelihood, were sacrificed young (up to two years of age) and females were bred for milk, reproduction, and even traction; their sacrifice was generally made after six years when their productive and reproductive potential lessened.¹¹⁵ In the settlement at Gornea-Căunița de Sus, Caraș-Severin county, 53 per cent of oxen were slaughtered before four years old, and in the settlement at Gornea-Zomonite, Caraș-Severin county, only 28.6 per cent were slaughtered young, with the remaining 71.1 per cent retained for breeding.¹¹⁶ In Sânnicolau Român, Bihor county, 77 per cent of oxen were used for breeding, milk, and labour, while only 23 per cent of them were slaughtered young.¹¹⁷ In the settlement at Izvoare-Bahna-La Pod la Hărmănești, Neamț county, House 16 mostly contains pig bones, and in House 27 oxen skeletons predominate.¹¹⁸ This situation

109 N. G. Belan, "Do istorii mislivstva i tvarinictva u plemen Pravoberežnoj Ukrainy u I tys. n. e.," *Arheologia* 24 (1977): 30, 30; S. Stanc and L. Bejenaru, "Archaeozoological study of fauna remains at the Poiana settlement (the VIIIth–IXth centuries)," *SAA* 9 (2003): 418.

110 Stanc and Bejenaru, "Archaeozoological," 418; O. Necrasov and S. Haimovici, "Studiul resturilor osoase de animale descoperite în așezarea feudală timpurie de la Dridu," in *Săpăturile de la Dridu. Contribuție la arheologia și istoria perioadei de formare a poporului român*, ed. E. Zaharia (București, 1967), 225.

111 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 165.

112 Bălint, *Die spätavarenzeitliche*, 93.

113 S. Haimovici, "Studiul resturilor mamiferelor domestice descoperite în așezări din secolele VIII–XII, situate în sud-estul României," *SCIIVA* 35 (1984): 313; Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 224, fig. 127; Stanc, *Relațiile omului*, 227.

114 Necrasov and Haimovici, "Studiul resturilor"; Haimovici, "Studiul resturilor," 313.

115 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 201–2.

116 Dulea, "Considerații," 223.

117 Dulea, "Considerații," 224.

118 S. Haimovici, "Studiul materialului faunistic din așezările de la Cîrligi-Filipești (secolele II–V e.n.) și Izvoare-Bahna (secolele VI–IX e.n.)," *Carpica* 16 (1984): 97.

indicates that these cattle were bred primarily for practical purposes and only secondarily for supplying meat.

Pigs (Sus scrofa domesticus). Among domestic animals, pigs rank second after cattle,¹¹⁹ according to the situation typical of sites from the sixth–seventh centuries.¹²⁰ The Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space is characterized by geo-climatic conditions favourable to the breeding of these species. Pigs have a greater share in the settlements in Transylvania; only in Sănnicolau Român, Bihor county, did pigs rank third.¹²¹ The domestic pig had a big head, quite long, and had a long and strong snout well suited for rooting; this would suggest the dominance of the Stocli breed in these medieval sites.¹²² The height of the withers is on average approximately 80 cm, indicating a primitive species with high withers compared to the other regions of Europe.¹²³ The gender ratio of mature animals is almost balanced in medieval sites, which would mean they were bred only for their meat and fat, and that at slaughter no strict selection by gender was made.¹²⁴

Sheep and goats (Ovis aries and Capra hircus). Sheep and goats, in terms of their share of the domestic economy, rank third. In the settlements where they could differentiate between their bones, a higher share of sheep was found.¹²⁵ The average height of sheep from early medieval sites was 59.17 cm,¹²⁶ or 62.5 cm, as was the case in the settlement at Bucov, in the Prahova county. Sheep were bred for wool, milk, and meat. Even if goats are more rarely found,¹²⁷ the presence of the *prisca* species can be ascertained; they had a height of 60 cm at the shoulder, the medium size which was characteristic of most regions of Central and Eastern Europe.¹²⁸ Females predominate among the mature animals,¹²⁹ which means that young males were slaughtered, and those that were kept were for breeding. In the settlements at Gornea-Căunița de Sus, Caraș-Severin county, 70 per cent of sheep were slaughtered young, and 50 per cent in Gornea-Zomonite, Caraș-Severin county.¹³⁰ Thus, sheep and goats were bred both for practical purposes (milk, wool) and for meat.

119 I. Mitrea, “Comunități sătești la Est de Carpați în epoca migrațiilor. Așezarea de la Davideni din secolele V–VIII,” *MA* 9 (2001): 214; Mitrea, *Din arheologia*, 135–63.

120 Mitrea, “Comunități sătești,” 214.

121 S. Haimovici, “Studiul arheozoologic al materialului provenit din așezarea de la Sănicolau Român–săpăturile din 1989,” *Crisia* 22 (1992): 39–46; Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 168.

122 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 229.

123 Stanc, *Relațiile omului*, 228.

124 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 201.

125 Haimovici, “Studiul resturilor,” 315; Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 232.

126 Stanc, *Relațiile omului*, 227.

127 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 232.

128 Haimovici, “Studiul resturilor,” 315.

129 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 201.

130 Dulea, “Considerații,” 223.

Horses (Equus caballus). The presence of horse remains is quite modest in the settlements of the sixth–seventh centuries¹³¹ as well as those of the eighth–ninth centuries.¹³² In the settlement at Poiana-În Huci la Fedcu, Suceava county, horses represent 3.26 per cent of domestic animal remains, in Hligeni 2.5 per cent,¹³³ and so on. Horse remains have been found in small numbers in the settlements at Cefa-La Pădure, Bihor county,¹³⁴ Gornea-Căunița de Sus, Caraș-Severin county,¹³⁵ and so on. In some settlements, the frequency is higher, as in Sânnicolau Român, Bihor county, with 30.63 per cent, in Rudi, with 17.6 per cent,¹³⁶ and in Slon, Prahova county, with 16.16 per cent. In the settlement at Morești-Cetate, Mureș county, a large number of horse bones belonging to the gracile type were certified, from 1.25 to 1.45 m tall.¹³⁷ The horses were of small and medium size, with an average height at the withers, based on results from the settlements east of the Carpathians, of 137.6 cm.¹³⁸ Horses were obviously bred for practical purposes: horseback riding, carriage, and ploughing. However, strong fragmentation of skeletal remains and the fact that, on some bones, traces of fire were observed, which allows us to assume the use of horse meat as food.¹³⁹

Donkeys (Asinus domesticus). Domestic donkeys have been found in many settlements in the south of the Prut-Dniester space¹⁴⁰ and in the south of Wallachia, being certified in Bucov, Prahova county, Dridu, Ialomița county,¹⁴¹ and Slon, Prahova county.¹⁴² The donkey was brought to Europe via the eastern Mediterranean in the era of the Greek colonies and was adapted to the geographical conditions in the southern and Black Sea regions. In the settlement at Dridu, Ialomița county, the remains of this species were substantially less fragmented, with some skeletons being almost complete, or at least large parts of them,¹⁴³ which demonstrates that the donkey was used for traction.

Dogs (Canis familiaris) and cats (Felis domesticus). In addition to the above-mentioned species, we should recall others, without definite economic importance, which have

131 Mitrea, “Comunități sătești,” 217, 221.

132 Stanc and Bejenaru, “Archaeozoological study,” 418.

133 Gol’ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen’ II*, 81–82.

134 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 52.

135 Bejan, *Banatul*, 77.

136 Rošal’ and Fëdorov, “Žilye i proizvodstvennye,” 158.

137 Dulea, “Considerații,” 223.

138 Stanc, *Relațiile omului*, 228.

139 Necrasov and Haimovici, “Studiul resturilor,” 233; Haimovici, “Studiul resturilor,” 316; Haimovici, “Studiul arheozoologic.”

140 Smilenko and Kozlovskij, “Srednevekovye poselenija,” 80, Smilenko and Kozlovskij, “Poselenija u sel Šabo,” 109.

141 Necrasov and Haimovici, “Studiul resturilor,” 208, 210, 213, 215–17, 219, 236.

142 Haimovici, “Studiul resturilor,” 312, 317.

143 Necrasov and Haimovici, “Studiul resturilor,” 225.

been found in several of the settlements from this period, namely dogs, and cats.¹⁴⁴ The first was mainly used for practical purposes, which is to say security and hunting. Archaeozoological data indicate the presence of a species of dog with an average and above-average height at the shoulder of 48.5 and 57.3 cm.¹⁴⁵ The cat, however, was most likely raised for pleasure. Some researchers believe that its role in the eradication of rodents is not so effective as to have caused its further spread into Europe.¹⁴⁶ It was brought to Europe as the donkey was, by the Greek colonists, but it spread during the Roman era through Egyptian cults.¹⁴⁷

Poultry. The degree of poultry remains found (chicken, duck, goose) is quite low. In this regard, it should be considered due to a small chance of preserving fragile bones, subject not only to destructive anthropic action but also to that of domestic animals (dogs, cats).¹⁴⁸ In the settlements dating from the eighth–ninth centuries at Cefa-La Pădure, Bihor county,¹⁴⁹ Gornea-Căunița de Sus, Gornea-Zomonite, Caraș-Severin county, Izvoare-Bahna-La Pod la Hărmănești, Neamț county,¹⁵⁰ and Sânnicolau Român, Bihor county, the archaeozoological remains of dunghill fowl were discovered.¹⁵¹ In some tombs in the cemetery at Izvoru-Dealul Porcilor, Giurgiu county, they discovered bones and eggshells from birds.¹⁵²

The territories north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries were dominated by large forests. Therefore, in all likelihood, it was more advantageous to breed cattle and pigs than sheep and goats, which indicates the fact that the population in the eighth–ninth centuries had a sedentary character. However, the discovery of materials from the eighth–ninth centuries in the caves of the Crișul Repede gorge and in the Banat Mountains can be attributed to shepherds and to the phenomenon of transhumance from these regions.¹⁵³

Based on the archaeozoological material found so far, we can conclude that livestock breeding, together with the cultivation of plants, occupied an important role in the economy of the population north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–ninth centuries. Domestic animals were extensively used in human households, both as labour and as a source of

144 Haimovici, “Studiul resturilor,” 312; Bejan, *Banatul*, 77; Dulea, “Considerații,” 250; Haimovici, “Studiul materialului,” 97.

145 Stanc, *Relațiile omului*, 228.

146 Haimovici, “Studiul resturilor,” 318.

147 A. Gh. Sonoc, “Considerații privind simbolică pisicii în antichitatea Europei și în estul bazinului Mării Mediteranei,” *Sargetia* 17 (1997–1998): 191–203.

148 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 174.

149 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 52.

150 Haimovici, “Studiul materialului,” 97.

151 Dulea, “Considerații,” 250.

152 See, for example, the case of the grave no. 146, B. Mitrea, “Meiul, ofrandă într-un mormînt din secolul al VIII-lea,” *SCIVA* 36 (1985): 255.

153 Cosma, “Considerații,” 69.

feedstock for alimentation and other household needs.¹⁵⁴ Thus, based on archaeological studies, which are just beginning to address a wider geographical scale involving multidisciplinary research methods,¹⁵⁵ we can reconstruct some important aspects of the economic life of the population to the north of the Lower Danube in the early Middle Ages.

Handicrafts and Economic Exchange

Along with plant cultivation and animal breeding, various handicrafts and household occupations were spread throughout human communities north of the Lower Danube. The discovery of various tools and semi-finished and finished objects inside sunken and surface complexes allow us to reconstruct the level of development these economic occupations reached during the eighth–ninth centuries. Thus, we have archaeological evidence regarding metalwork, pottery, extraction of ores, stonework, leatherwork, bonework, hornwork, spinning and weaving, and so on.

Metalwork

In settlements dating from the eighth–ninth centuries in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space a rich and diverse array of archaeological materials resulting from the activities of extraction and processing of metals have been discovered, and these have been the subject of several studies.¹⁵⁶ Iron predominates among the attested metals. Ironwork has been demonstrated by a large amount of slag, iron bloom, and iron objects, found both on the soil surface and in the investigated complexes, such as, for example, in Băiceni-*Siliște*,

154 Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 78–79.

155 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*; Stanc, *Relațiile omului*.

156 Șt. Olteanu, N. Neagu, and D. Seclăman, “Tehnologia obținerii fierului din minereu și problema continuității istorice pe teritoriul României în mileniul I e.n.,” *SCIVA* 32 (1981): 217–32; Șt. Olteanu and C. Șerban, *Meșteșugurile din Țara Românească și Moldova în evul mediu* (București, 1969); Olteanu, Neagu, and Seclăman, “Tehnologia obținerii fierului din minereu și problema continuității istorice pe teritoriul României în mileniul I e.n.,” *SCIVA* 32 (1981): 217–32; E. Stoicovici, “Unele caracteristici ale zgurilor din atelierele metalurgice daco-romane și prefeudale,” *Banatica* 7 (1983): 239–47; I. Lazăr and D. Lazăr, ed., *Din istoria metalurgiei hunedorene. 110 ani de la punerea în funcțiune a primului furnal de la Hunedoara (1884–1994)* (Hunedoara, 1994); A. Bejan, “Dovezi privind prelucrarea metalelor la Remetea Mare (jud. Timiș) în secolele VIII–X,” *AMN* 32 (1995): 775–83; A. Bejan and D. Stoian, “Metalurgia din Banat în sec. IV–XII,” *SIB* 19–20 1995–1999 (1999): 47–60; V. Wollmann, *Mineritul metalifer, extragerea sării și carierele de piatră în Dacia Romană* (București, 1996); N. P. Tel’nov, “Issledovanie železodelatel’nyh sooruzenij poselenija Skok,” *AIM v 1982 g.* (1986): 84–96; Tel’nov, “Slavjanskije železodelatel’nye sooruzenija v Moldove,” in *Hozjajstvennye komplekсы drevnih obščestv Moldovy* (Kišinev, 1991), 87–96; N. Tel’nov, “Complexe medievale timpurii de prelucrare a fierului în interfluviul Prut-Nistru,” *Suceava* 21 (1994): 31–40; S. Musteață, “Prelucrarea metalelor în spațiul pruto-nistrean în secolele VIII–IX,” in *Studia in honorem Ion Niculiță* (Chișinău, 1999), 261–67; D. Živković, S. Janjić, V. Trujić, M. Gavrilovski, A. D. Sartid, V. Rajković, R. Čurčić, and D. Krajinović, “Karakterizacija arheometalurških nalaza sa kasnoantičkih i ranosrednjovekovnih lokaliteta u Banatu i Bačkoj,” *GSAD* 15 (1999–2000): 355–68.

Iași county,¹⁵⁷ Kicman'-*Gorišnij Kut*, Chernivtsi region,¹⁵⁸ Kulišovka *I Leot'eva*, Chernivtsi region,¹⁵⁹ Mesteacăn-*Parhon* and Mesteacăn-*Valea Caselor*, Maramureș county,¹⁶⁰ Rădulești, Satu Mare county,¹⁶¹ Săcășeni-*Fântâna Ciobanului*, Satu Mare county,¹⁶² Sănnicolau Român-*Bereac*, Bihor county,¹⁶³ Lopatna,¹⁶⁴ Trebujemi-*Scoc*, Orhei rayon,¹⁶⁵ Vladimirescu-*La Cetate*, Arad county,¹⁶⁶ and so on (Map 2). The Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space is rich in deposits of metals, particularly ferruginous ones.¹⁶⁷ Laboratory tests have shown that the local origin of iron ore is mostly from the east, the south, and north-east of the Carpathians.¹⁶⁸ In the settlement at Lozna the iron ore was brought from a nearby peat bog.¹⁶⁹ In the areas where this ore was absent or difficult to exploit, semi-finished or finished products were brought, in all probability, via exchange from other areas. I. Mitrea believes that the inhabitants of the settlement at Izvoare-Biharea-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, brought (or bought) the ore from the immediate environs, such as from the ferruginous areas of the bank of the river Băhnișoara.¹⁷⁰

The craft of metalworking involves varied and complex work from those who practice it, starting with ore extraction and moving through processing to tool making. The extraction technique was simple, as most of metal resources known to the north of the Lower Danube and exploited during that period were close to or even on the surface. To remove the earth, the pieces of ore were washed, dried, and crushed or burned in the open air. Oxide reduction was the main process used to obtain necessary metals for manufacturing tools. The level of development of this craft is evidenced by the traces of constructions needed to reduce and process the ore, by numerous remnants of slag and iron bloom, and, of course, by numerous tools found in the most studied settlements. The number of discoveries of traces of iron processing from the eighth–ninth centuries is twice that of the fifth–seventh centuries.¹⁷¹

157 I. Ioniță and V. Spinei, "Așezarea prefeudală târzie de la Băiceni-Siliște," *AM* 7 (1972): 307–30; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 43.

158 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 155; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 157.

159 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 157; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 161.

160 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 199, 200.

161 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 216, pl. 205/8–10.

162 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 220.

163 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 225, dwelling no. 5.

164 Fëdorov, "Naselenie," 205–6.

165 Tel'nov, "Raskopki poselenija Skok," 188; Tel'nov, "Slavjanskije železodelatn'nye," 87–89.

166 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 237, 238.

167 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 12–13.

168 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 87–88; Pascu et al., "Dinamica structurilor," 177.

169 Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 375.

170 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 76.

171 Șt. Olteanu, M. Rusu, and O. Iliescu, "Structuri economice (cultura cerealelor, creșterea animalelor, exploatarea bogățiilor miniere, practicile meșteșugărești, circulația mărfurilor și a

Metalworking Workshops

Throughout the settlements, a number of constructions with a direct link to metalwork have been discovered. The workshops where the metals were processed are characterized by the presence of work platforms arranged from stones, as in the settlements at Dodești-*Călugăreasca*, Vaslui county,¹⁷² Dobrynovcy,¹⁷³ Revno I-*Livada*, Ostrica-*Kodyn*,¹⁷⁴ Chernivtsi region, and so on. Inside the complexes of the settlements at Biharea, Bihor county, Bucov-Toloaca, Bucov-Rotari,¹⁷⁵ Černovka II *Rula*, Chernivtsi region,¹⁷⁶ Comana de Jos, Dăbâca, Dodești-*Călugăreasca*, Vaslui county,¹⁷⁷ Dridu, Dodești, Vaslui county,¹⁷⁸ Epureni, Felnac, Arad county, Gornea, Caraș-Severin county,¹⁷⁹ Kožušna-*Buda*, Chernivtsi region,¹⁸⁰ Lomacincy-*Okopy*, Sokirjansk rayon,¹⁸¹ Lozna-Străteni,¹⁸² Remetea Mare-*Gomila lui Pituț*, Timiș county,¹⁸³ Șirna-*Fântâna lui Hârțu*, Prahova county,¹⁸⁴ and others, traces of metalwork have been certified (slag, iron bloom, tools, melting pots, metal tools—hammers, chisels, cups, moulds, etc.), that speak to the existence of specialized metalworking workshops. The planimetry and dimensions of these constructions resemble those of the dwellings, with indoor fire installations of the open ovens and fireplaces type. In the settlement of Lozna-Botoșani four workshops have been found, among which one stands out for its relatively large dimensions: 6 m × 3.5 m. The workshop at Remetea Mare-*Gomila lui Pituț*, sunk a metre down, was 1.6 × 2.5 m, and inside they found an open fireplace and the remains of a portable oven, along with two melting pots and a

banilor),” in *Istoria Românilor. Genezele românești*, ed. Șt. Pascu and R. Theodorescu, 3 (București, 2001): 54; Pascu et al., “Dinamica structurilor,” 175–76.

172 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 65–67, fig. 26/d and fig. 27 (reconstruction).

173 B. A. Timoščuk, “Novye slavjanskije pamjatniki Severnoj Bukovony,” *AO v 1973 g.* (1974): 352; Timoščuk, *Davn’orus’ka Bukovina*, 133, fig.73/1.

174 I. P. Rusanova and B. A. Timoščuk, *Kodyn-Slavjanskoe poselenie V–VIII vv. na r. Prut* (Moskva, 1984): 38–40.

175 Comșa, *Cultura materială*, 48–52.

176 Timoščuk, *Slov’jani Pivničnoj*, 167; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 95–96.

177 Coman, “Cercetările arheologice,” 298; 1971, 490; Teodor, “Unele probleme,” 256–57.

178 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 18–19.

179 Bejan and Stoian, “Metalurgia,” 50.

180 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 165.

181 Timoščuk, *Slov’jans’ki gradi*, 25–43; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 32, 162, fig. 12/B.

182 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 17.

183 Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 104–7; Bejan, “Contribuții arheologice,” 223–24; Dulea, “Considerații,” 215.

184 Șt. Olteanu, V. Teodorescu, and N. Neagu, “Rezultatul cercetărilor arheologice de la Șirna (județul Prahova) (anul 1978) cu privire la secolele III–XI,” *MCA* 11 (1979): 277–79; Olteanu, Teodorescu, and Neagu, “Rezultatele cercetărilor arheologice de la Șirna-Prahova,” *MCA* 14 (1980): 416–22; Olteanu, Neagu, and Nicolae, “Locuințe din secolele IV, VI și IX–X descoperite la Șirna, jud. Prahova,” *MCA* 17 (1993): 347–48; Olteanu and Neagu, “Rezultatele cercetărilor arheologice de la Șirna-Prahova,” *MCA* 15 (1983): 384; Olteanu and Neagu, “Așezările din secolele III–XI de la Șirna, jud. Prahova,” *MCA* 16 (1986): 155–57.

mould.¹⁸⁵ Inside and around the workshop at Gornea-Zomonite, they discovered 35 kg of slag.¹⁸⁶ Inside Construction 30 at the settlement Izvoare-Biharea-La pod la Hărmănești, Neamț county, they discovered three fire installations; in the western corner there was a stone oven whose chimney has been partially preserved, there is a simple oven toward the western corner, and a furnace to reduce the ore was arranged in the northern corner. The situation leads us to suppose that a craftsman engaged in iron-working lived here. The construction, of rectangular shape and rounded corners with dimensions of 3.6 by 4.5 m, is sunken into the soil. Arranged by treading, the floor was almost horizontal and deepened, depending on the configuration of the field, between 0.90 and 1.35 m. On the west side, traces of a bench 1.15 m wide and 0.15 m high have been preserved.¹⁸⁷ Another example is the workshop discovered in Dodești-Călugăreasca, Vaslui county, whose foundation pit is sunken and rectangular in shape, with dimensions of 4.1 by 4.5 m. Inside the pit, they discovered traces of walls built from planks. In the northeast corner the traces of a vaulted oven, with a circular fireplace approximately 0.5 m in diameter and a hole for air blowing tubes have been preserved. The furnace was slightly inclined towards the mouth and had a V-shaped gutter arranged for metal discharge. In front of the furnace, there was an oval pit with dimensions of 0.4 by 0.6 m, 0.1 m deep, which contained much iron bloom. On the furnace's surface, among the wreckage of the vault, they discovered two fragmented clay melting pots and a clay mould for spheres. These elements prove that the workshop belonged to a local blacksmith.¹⁸⁸

Ore processing furnaces. We can distinguish several types of constructions for iron ore pit processing, vaulted ovens, and furnaces according to features of their construction and function.¹⁸⁹ In some settlements, stone ovens, also used in metalworking, were discovered. In the settlement at Sighișoara-Cartierul Plopilor, such a forging furnace was investigated, of the stone type, circular in shape and surrounded by iron bloom.¹⁹⁰

The first type, furnace-holes, are the simplest installations, consisting of a hole of diameter 0.80–1.0 m, of differing depths, without holes or access pits, containing slag and wooden coal. In all probability, in such constructions, the impurities from the ore content were burned, subject to the process of enrichment in the first phase. Such ovens were found at Černovka II, Chernivtsi region,¹⁹¹ Mășcăuți-Livada Boierului, Criuleni rayon, and others.

The second type is represented by vaulted ovens, arranged from clay. This type of oven constitutes a variant of sunken ovens, of larger size and meant for metallurgical work. These installations were oval or circular in plan, with a diameter between 1 and 2 m.¹⁹² The fireplace was horizontal and slightly raised towards the mouth, smooth and

185 Dulea, "Considerații," 215; Bejan, "Economia satului," 276.

186 Mare, *Banatul*, 52.

187 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 69–70, fig. 15/1; 18/3.

188 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 65–67, fig. 26/d and fig. 27.

189 Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 63–65.

190 Dulea, "Considerații," 214.

191 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 95–96, fig. 35/v.

192 Tel'nov, "Slavjanskije železodelatal'nye," 87–89.

well-coated with clay. The mouth had an average width of 0.35 m to 0.50 m, with an access pit in front.¹⁹³ In the settlement at Trebujeni-*Scoc*, Orhei rayon, this kind of oven was mentioned together with the other types, indicating its use for iron ore enrichment.¹⁹⁴ In the northern corner of Construction 30 at the settlement Izvoare-Biharea-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, they discovered a furnace for reducing ore. It was in the shape of a truncated cone with a 0.5 m diameter and a preserved height of 0.38 m. The fireplace was slightly curved and strongly slagged. In the southern wall of the furnace was the mouth of the fireplace, located 0.15 m above the floor. Inside it a fragment of iron bloom was found.¹⁹⁵

The third type of iron ore processing installation comprises all the furnaces discovered in Alcedar, Brănești, Hansca, Hligeni, Izvoare-Biharea-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, Lopatna,¹⁹⁶ Trebujeni-*Scoc*,¹⁹⁷ Pohorniceni-Petruha, Orhei rayon, Rudi, Soroca rayon,¹⁹⁸ and so on. According to the shape and the construction of these furnaces, we may distinguish between several variants—one with a flat fireplace and one with a fireplace raised in the centre.¹⁹⁹ These installations were oval or circular and had a conical shape. The walls were covered with one or several layers of clay mixed with sand and were 0.3 to 0.4 m above the old ground level, and were also provided with an orifice at the top with a diameter of 0.1 to 0.12 m. Towards the fireplace, the furnace's walls were widened, reaching an average size of 0.4 to 0.5 m. Next to the furnace, there was an access pit that was usually deepened 0.1 m to 0.2 m further below the level of the fireplace. Air was pumped through the furnace's mouth inside the construction with the help of a leather bellows. Preserved clay cylindrical tubes with a length of 0.1 to 0.15 m–0.25 to 0.3 m have been found, and the hole diameter from these bellows was 1.1 cm to 2.5 cm. The furnace at Hlincea, coated with clay on the inside, was dug into the ground, had a circular shape with a diameter of 0.6 m, and demonstrates a maximum depth of 0.37 m for the melting pot. Together with the furnace, they discovered tubular clay pieces coming from the pipe of the manual bellows. At the top of the furnace there was a tub, through which it was provided with ore and fuel, and in the bottom, usually arranged in the ground, was the melting pot.²⁰⁰

Metal Processing Technology

Analysis of slag samples from the settlement at Ilidia, Caras-Severin county, showed that they used two types of iron ore: concretionary limonite, up to 62 per cent iron, and

193 N. P. Tel'nov, "Raskopki poselenija Skok," *AIM v 1984 g.* (1986): 188.

194 Tel'nov, "Slavjanskije železodelatal'nye," 87–89.

195 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 70, fig. 15/1.

196 Fëdorov, "Naselenie," 205–6, 257, table 57; AKM 6, 14, 28–29, 63.

197 Tel'nov, "Issledovanie železodelatel'nyh"; Tel'nov, "Slavjanskije železodelatal'nye."

198 V. S. Bejlekči, N. P. Tel'nov, and I. G. Vlasenko, "Raskopki slavjanskogo poselenija Rudi XX v 1980 g.," *AIM v 1979–1980 gg.* (1983): 174–83.

199 Tel'nov, "Slavjanskije železodelatal'nye," 96.

200 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 92.

alluvial magnetite, over 70 per cent iron.²⁰¹ In some settlements, pieces of iron ore were first ground on special stone platforms. When using ore of sedimentary-alluvial origin, after crushing, it was washed or burned in pits to remove the remaining detritus. After this operation, the iron ore was introduced into the furnace in successive layers with charcoal (and sometimes with the bones of large animals, due to their ability to maintain a stable temperature) and calcareous stone or limestone, which was meant to facilitate the separation of iron oxides from tailings.²⁰²

Due to the arrangement in the oven's vault of between three to five layers of calcareous stones and clay paste, during the combustion process a temperature of 500–600°C was obtained within the vault at which the ore was dried and clean iron oxide (Fe_2O_3) remained. Thus, the ore was enriched and became more porous, facilitating its reduction and melting in the furnaces. Efficiency and product quality, however, were very low. After processing in these furnaces, the percentage of iron was, according to some data, only 40–50 per cent.²⁰³

Furnaces, through their peculiar virtues, assured a higher quality of ore reduction. From a technological standpoint, it was possible to get quality raw materials just in this way. Thus, at 100–200°C moisture removal occurred, at 150–200°C the reduction of iron oxides to metal began, at 300°C the ore was reduced to limonite, at 400–600°C the carbonates decomposed, at 400°C the iron carburizing began, and only at 1350°C did slag formation begin, and at over 1500°C iron melted and formed iron bloom.²⁰⁴ Iron blooms were then processed by forging and hammering to increase the hardness of the iron.²⁰⁵

In the furnaces of the eighth–ninth centuries, the temperatures of the ovens reached approximately 800–900°C, and at most 1,000°C, the temperature at which the iron bloom was obtained from ore. This bloom was spongy because it also contained impurities. Therefore, it was again exposed to high temperatures to remove the impurities and decarbonize the iron. It was counterproductive because of low-advanced technologies. Quality increased with the construction of ovens that could generate temperatures of over 1,000°C degrees and thus efficiently melt iron.²⁰⁶ Thus, the furnaces of the eighth–ninth centuries diversified typologically and grew in size compared to those of the fifth–seventh centuries, demonstrating the growth of their capacity.

Laboratory research has shown that inside the furnaces, with the help of manual bellows, a temperature of about 1,300–1,400°C could be reached, and a thick plate, called bloom, was thus obtained from the reduced iron. Because of the impurities that it also contained, the iron bloom was still quite spongy, and other secondary operations were needed. Decarbonization and the removal of impurities facilitated the further processing of iron. Typically, the furnaces for enriching, reducing, and melting the iron ore were near dwellings and workshops, which highlights the existence of some handicraft complexes

201 Bejan and Stoian, "Metalurgia din Banat," 56.

202 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 92; Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 14.

203 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 15.

204 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 14; Bejan and Stoian, "Metalurgia din Banat," 53.

205 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 146; Bejan and Stoian, "Metalurgia din Banat," 58.

206 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 93.

specializing in metalwork within some settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space. The discovery of a great number of relics and ore reduction installations in the settlements at Lozna-Străteni, Șirna, Prahova county, Trebujeni-*Scoc*, Orhei rayon and so on shows the appearance of settlements specializing in ironwork handicrafts in the period of interest.

Tool Making

The final products of the extraction and processing of metal were tools, weapons, and other household items. Metal objects were very important in human life, both in agriculture and in other everyday economic activities. Archeological research over the last six decades has revealed an impressive number of objects made of metal, sometimes in the form of deposits,²⁰⁷ which highlights the importance of this craft in the communities of the eighth–ninth centuries north of the Lower Danube.²⁰⁸

The pieces discovered are in several categories: universal tools, special tools for the forge, tools and agricultural equipment, household items, weapons, harness parts, and so on.²⁰⁹ The largest category of iron objects, found in almost every researched settlement, is the knife. Being a universal tool, the knife had different sizes and shapes.

The category of tools of wide use includes needles, awls, borers, chisels, mandrels, tongs and axes, and others. Axes could be used both in household activities (chopping wood, stone carving, etc.) and as a weapon.²¹⁰ Axes with a widened edge and a slightly curved and narrow blade were discovered in the settlements at *Arbore-Clit*, Suceava county,²¹¹ *Fedești-Vatra satului*, Vaslui county,²¹² *Fundu Herții*, Botoșani county, *Gherăseni-Grindul Cremenea*, Buzău county,²¹³ *Ilidia-Groapa Banului*,²¹⁴ *Arbore, Pârteștii de Sus*,²¹⁵ *Liteni-Suceava*,²¹⁶ *Dersca*, Botoșani county, *Curtești*, Botoșani county,²¹⁷ and so on.

For the cultivation of plants, a number of tools made of iron were used, widely found in settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries: coulter, plough blades, and rakers, sickles, scythes, mattocks, spade blades, pruning knives, planters, and so on.

207 RepBihor 1974, 57; Cosma, "Considerații," 275; Comșa and Deculescu, "Un depozit," 469–473. Comșa and Constantinescu, "Depozitul de unelte," 425–36; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 83.

208 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 24.

209 Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 66–68.

210 D. Gh. Teodor, "Topoare medievale timpurii în regiunile carpato-nistriene," in *In memoriam Radu Popa. Temeiuri ale civilizației românești în Context European* (Bistrița-Năsăud, 2003), 185–200.

211 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 39.

212 Constantinescu, "Aspecte privind evoluția," 192, no. 32, 217.

213 Constantinescu, "Aspecte privind evoluția," 218.

214 Dulea, "Considerații," 248.

215 Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 312.

216 Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 313.

217 Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 313.

The category of household objects includes keys, nails, staples, rings, fire strikers, weights, and the like. Iron nails and staples constituted a large category of pieces that were widely used in construction. The nails were made of a four-edged round iron rod, 7 to 10 cm in length, with one pointed end and the other, the flower, with four or three cusps.

Iron tongs were also discovered in a tool deposit at Curcani, Călărași county.²¹⁸ Scissors were made out of a piece of iron, bent in the middle, so that the two ends, provided with blades, could unite. Such types of scissors were used for sheep shearing, and remain in use in some areas even today. The pieces found at Gornea-Găunița de Sus²¹⁹ and Popeni-Cuceu²²⁰ were 13 to 15 cm long.

A special category of objects made of iron are fire strikers. Their discovery, usually during an inventory of graves, suggests both their household and ritualistic importance. It can be exemplified by the discoveries in the cemetery at Berghin-În Peri, Alba county²²¹ and Izvoru, Giurgiu county.²²² Fire strikers are made of iron, with a bulging body and raised apices. Fire strikers closed in the shape of the letter B are characteristic for the eighth–ninth centuries.

Non-ferrous Metal Working

The discovery of some pieces made of copper and bronze and of some moulds indicates the practice of this craft by some community members north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–ninth centuries. Metal, stone, and bone moulds and die-cutters were intended, in particular, to manufacture certain categories of clothing and pieces of adornment. Non-ferrous metal pieces were made by two main techniques. The first consisted of pouring the pieces into mono-valvular and bivalvular moulds, such as the stone and bone moulds discovered in the settlements at Biharea, Bucov, Dăbâca, Remetea Mare-Gomila lui Pituț,²²³ Zăpodia-Movilă, Bacău county,²²⁴ and others. The technique of pressing metal, suggested by the discovery of stencils or finished objects, such as buckles, earrings, and pendants, is characteristic of the ninth century. In a workshop from the seventh–eighth centuries in Costești, Iași county,²²⁵ several objects directly linking the production of objects in pressing technique were found. Two of the stencils, rectangular in shape, were incized with the forms of earrings and a star-shaped pendant with hemispheres. There is a rectangular plate of buckle engraved on a stencil, and another is decorated with anthropomorphic motifs. Four other stencils have various geometric shapes (ovals, hemispheres, and small squares) incized on their surface.

²¹⁸ Comșa and Deculescu, "Un depozit," 469, fig. 2/3.

²¹⁹ Bejan, "Economia satului," 272.

²²⁰ Dulea, "Considerații," 248.

²²¹ Aldea et al., "Cercetări arheologice," 151–52; Blăjan and Botezatu, "Studiul arheologic," 457.

²²² Mitrea, "Unele probleme," 449.

²²³ Dulea, "Considerații," 247.

²²⁴ Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 171.

²²⁵ Teodor, "Elemente," 102, 106, fig. 3,4,5.

Together with these stencils, they discovered an object with rounded ends, used, in all likelihood, for selecting metal leaves.²²⁶ This category also includes the die-cutter discovered in the settlement at Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor.²²⁷

Melting pots are also objects related to metallurgical activities, frequently discovered in settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries (Jabăr-Cotun, Remetea Mare-Gomila lui Pituț, Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor,²²⁸ etc.). In the settlement of Remetea Mare-Gomila lui Pituț they found two small pieces, one 3.4 cm high, 3 cm in diameter, and 2.5 cm deep, the second with the same height, 3.4–3.5 cm in diameter, with thicker walls and an oval mouth.²²⁹ Their small dimensions suggest that only small quantities of metal were melted at a time.

In the settlement of Hligeni they discovered an iron anvil of middling dimensions, with a pyramid-shaped rod, rectangular in section, with a flat hat at the wide end. The length of this piece is 8.1 cm, the dimensions of the rod are 1.7 cm by 0.8 cm, and those of the hat are 2.2 cm by 1.5 cm.²³⁰ Similar objects were discovered in Alcedar and Echimauti.²³¹ The authors of the report attribute these pieces to the processing of non-ferrous metals.²³²

The number of traces of metalworking, the character of the constructions, and the typological diversity of metal tools in the eighth–ninth centuries are higher as compared to the fifth–seventh centuries, which shows both a qualitative leap and the development of this economic occupation among the population north of the Lower Danube.²³³

Clay Processing

In the human household, clay has had an important place since ancient times, both for construction and for the manufacturing of objects.²³⁴ The category of clay products includes pottery clay, the largest category numerically, and a range of other objects made of clay (a weaving loom's weights, moulds,²³⁵ melting pots,²³⁶ miniature vessels, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, and so on).²³⁷ Taking into account the multiplicity and the diversity of the discovered archaeological material, making a detailed study of

226 D. Gh. Teodor, *Romanitatea carpato-dunăreană și Bizanțul în veacurile V–XI e.n.* (Iași. 1981), fig. 11; Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 46, fig. 17.

227 Dulea, "Considerații," 248.

228 Dulea, "Considerații," 214, 246.

229 Bejan, "Aspecte"; Bejan, *Banatul*, 75.

230 Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, fig. CXXVII/10.

231 Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, fig. CXXVII/10.

232 Fëdorov, "Gorodišče Ekimaucy," 120.

233 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 87; Pascu et al., "Dinamica structurilor," 176.

234 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 52.

235 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 61.

236 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 67, fig. 31/2 and fig. 31/1,3.

237 Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 76–77.

the development of clay processing in the eighth–ninth centuries would go well beyond the scope of this book. Therefore, we will limit ourselves to observations regarding some general aspects that reflect the particularities of the craft of pottery and ceramics in the regions to the north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–ninth centuries.

Pottery

Ceramics is one of the most prolific categories of archaeological discovery, proving an intense practice of this craft in the Middle Ages in most settlements north of the Lower Danube. Pottery has been documented up to the present within sites investigated by archaeologists, including through pottery workshops, pottery kilns, and many kinds of ceramic products. Ceramics has become a benchmark in assessing archaeological cultures and their chronological classification.²³⁸ Cultural and chronological assessments must be made by collating all available sources because ceramic products had common features across extended geographical areas and time periods. The eighth–ninth centuries fell within the context of historical and cultural markers characteristic of early medieval transformations. Thus, ceramics produced in the eighth–ninth centuries have certain similarities with the products from both previous centuries (the sixth–seventh centuries) and subsequent ones (the tenth–eleventh centuries). However, in the eighth–ninth centuries, there was a shift from a primitive technological stage (making dishes by hand) to another, higher one, namely making vessels on a potter’s wheel.²³⁹ This shift was made in different ways from one region to another, but it can be tracked based on the share and the ratio of ceramic material made by hand and by wheel in each settlement. Using the potter’s wheel assured a qualitative leap in the production of ceramics (diversifying the types and the size of vessels, widening the mouth, and decorating the vessels with motifs consisting of strips of parallel lines or waves placed on the shoulders of vessels).²⁴⁰

Regarding the classification and the description of early medieval pottery, a number of papers have been published and a series of criteria and principles have been established.²⁴¹ The classification proposed by Gh. Postică, based on the study of pottery

238 A. Buko, “Ceramics and Medieval Pottery Research in Poland,” *AP* 30 (1992), 6; C. Orton and P. Tyers, “Studying Pottery at the Level of the Assemblage: The Pie-slice Computer Package,” *AP* 30 (1992), 39.

239 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 56; Fëdorov, “Naselenie,” 208–9.

240 S. Brather, *Feldberger Keramik und frühe Slawen. Studien zur nordwestslawischen Keramik der karolingischenzeit* (Bonn, 1996).

241 Horedt, “Ceramica slavă”; Rafalovič, *Slavjane*; I. G. Hynku, *Moldavskaja narodnaja keramika* (Kišinev, 1978); Dumitrașcu, “Ceramica românească”; Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 80–85; V. I. Kozlov, “Gončarnaja keramika poselenij Balkano-Dunajskoj kul’tury VIII–X vv. Primorskoj časti Dnestrovskogo Dunajskogo meždureč’ja,” in *SPDPM* (Kišinev, 1988): 28–71; Kozlov, *Naselenie stepnogo meždureč’ja*, 129–201; Postică, *Români*, 14–61; Ioan Stanciu and A. V. Matei, “Sondaje din așezarea prefeudală de la Popeni-Cuceu, jud. Sălaj. Câteva observații cu privire la ceramica prefeudală din Transilvania,” *AMP* 18 (1994): 135–63; I. Stanciu, “Despre ceramica medievală timpurie de uz comun, lucrată la roata

at the settlement of Hansca, Ialoveni rayon, is quite valid for other regions to the north of the Lower Danube, all the more so because there are similarities regarding variants of the classification of early medieval pottery proposed by other archaeologists.²⁴² In most cases, the technological means used is the basis for the classification of ceramics, followed by modelling technique, assortment of vessels, types of form and proportion, firing technique and quality, and finally decoration and other desiderata.

Technology of ceramics manufacture

The raw material for ceramics was obtained from fine loess, present in almost all regions to the north of the Lower Danube with the exception of mountainous areas.²⁴³ The clay paste was kneaded, then mixed with various degreasers to reinforce the resistance of the vessels to be made. These dishes were made both manually and on a wheel. For handmade vessels and those made on a slow wheel they used sand and chamotte (crushed shards) as degreasers, and the paste for dishes made on fast wheels contained sand as an ingredient. Some categories of vessels had mica, crushed shells, or small fragments of limestone in the paste.

Oxidizing pottery-firing techniques are characteristic of the eighth–ninth centuries, but the quality of firings varied. A special category of ceramics is so-called *polished gray pottery*, hardened through non-oxidizing firing. Vessels of this type are found only in small numbers, and in some areas north of the Lower Danube they are completely absent. In terms of the forms, within the analysed time period we find the presence of a wide and varied range of vessels, among which the jar predominates.

Potter's signs first appear on the bottom of vessels during the ninth century, and would become common in the tenth–eleventh centuries, but with a different meaning.²⁴⁴

Pottery Workshops

In most cases, pottery workshops did not differ from dwellings or household constructions, with some minor exceptions. Some peculiarities may be found for these

rapidă în aşezările de pe teritoriul României (secolele VIII–X),” *AM* 3 (2000): 127–91; C. Cosma, “Die Keramik des 8.– 10. Jh. n. Chr. aus dem Norden und Nordwesten Rumâniens,” in *Interregionale und Kulturelle Beziehungen im Karpatenraum (2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. - 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr.)*, ed. A. Rustoriu and A. Ursuțiu (Cluj-Napoca, 2002), 297–389; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*.

242 P. Barford and E. Marczak, “Peasant households, potters and phasing: Early Medieval ceramics from Podedłocie, Poland,” *AP* 30 (1992): 134; Kozlov, “Gončarnaja keramika”; Kozlov, “Die Keramik der Siedlungen der Balkan-Donau-Kultur im 8.-10.Jh. an der Meersküste des Flussinnenlandes Dnester-Donau,” in *Die Keramik der Saltovo Majaki Kultur und ihrer Varianten*, Varia Archeologica Hungarica III, ed. Cs. Bálint (Budapest, 1990), 171–91; Kozlov, *Naselenie stepnogo meždurec'ja*, 135–83; Stanciu, “Despre ceramica”; T. Vida, *Chronologie und Verbreitung einiger wawarenzeitliche Keramiktypen*, *Antaeus* 19–20 (1990–1991), 1991: 131–44; Vida, “Zu einigen handgeformten frühawarischen Keramiktypen und ihre östlichen Beziehungen,” in *Awarenforschungen*, Band 1, ed. F. Daim (Wien, 1992), 135–250; Vida, *Die Awarenzeitliche Keramik I. (6.– 7. Jh.)* (Berlin-Budapest, 1999); Bálint, *Die spätawarenzeitliche Siedlung*.

243 Teodor, *Mesteșugurile*, 52.

244 Teodor, *Mesteșugurile*, 59.

buildings, such as the discovery of pottery kilns, the remains of wooden shelves, finished and semi-finished vessels, whole and fragmented vessels, clay cinders, and so on. In many cases, the presence of one or many pottery kilns located in the vicinity of the workshop has been ascertained, which would indicate that the inhabitants of this construction dealt with pottery. Such a situation was found in Sânnicolau Roman-*Bereac*, where they discovered four pottery kilns and a service pit with materials typical of pottery near Construction nr. 4.²⁴⁵ Even traces of a potter's wheel were discovered on the floor of a pottery workshop in Bogatoe, Odessa region.²⁴⁶

Pottery Kilns

Vessels' firings differed from one settlement to another. In some cases, pottery was fired in specially arranged kilns, while in others the vessels were fired in open fireplaces and stone ovens. The category of specially arranged kilns includes the kilns made of barren clay with one or two chambers, a fireplace, and a platform for firing vessels. One-chamber kilns have been more often found in settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries, having multiple uses, as compared to two-chamber constructions that were used only for pottery. The discovery of numerous fragments of pottery inside sunken ovens lead us to presume their possible use for pottery firing. Two-chamber ovens have been more frequently documented in settlements from the ninth–eleventh centuries, such as, for example, in Hansca, Ialoveni rayon,²⁴⁷ Moleși, Ialoveni rayon,²⁴⁸ Bogatoe, Odessa region,²⁴⁹ Remetea-*Gomila lui Pituț*,²⁵⁰ Gornea-*Țărmuri*,²⁵¹ Sânnicolau Român-*Bereac*,²⁵² and so on. The appearance of this type of oven, with two stacked compartments separated by a spare grate, one for fire and another for pottery firing, in some cases supported by a clay foot located in the centre of the platform, is contemporaneous with the introduction of the potter's wheel. In other cases, the grate was based in the median wall.²⁵³ Many openings were arranged in the grate for heat penetration into the firing chamber, the number of which varied from case to case depending on the size of the oven. Some ovens also had a service pit, as in the case of oven nr. 4 from the settlement at Sânnicolau Român-*Bereac*.²⁵⁴ Pottery kilns

245 Cosma, "Considerații," 73; Cosma, "Die Keramik," 31.

246 Smilenko and Kozlovskij, "Poselenija u sel Šabo," 112.

247 N. P. Tel'nov and G. F. Čebotarenko, "Gončarnaja masterskaja s poselenija u s. Gansk," in *SPDPM* (Kišinev, 1988): 72.

248 G. F. Čebotarenko, "Raskopki na poselenii u s. Molešty Kutuzovskogo r-na," *AIM v 1979–1980 gg.* (1983): 183.

249 Smilenko and Kozlovskij, "Poselenija u sel Šabo," 114.

250 Bejan, *Banatul*, 72.

251 Bejan, "Economia satului," 280.

252 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 35.

253 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 54.

254 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 35.

discovered in the settlements to the north of the Danube are similar to the discoveries at Dobrogea²⁵⁵ and other regions south of the river.²⁵⁶

Temperatures of over 600°C were created in the pottery kilns, which is the optimum temperature for quality firing of ceramic.²⁵⁷ There were two methods for firing vessels: either oxidizing and non-oxidizing (reducing), accomplished either by opening or closing the vent in the chamber. The method and quality of a vessel's firing can be determined by its colour.

Types of Ceramics

The pottery discovered in settlements in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space dating from the eighth–ninth centuries is varied in terms of technology used and typology. Thus, we can distinguish three classes of ceramics in the studied period and region by their technical processing and final product quality: handmade ceramics; ceramics made on slow pottery wheels; and ceramics made on fast pottery wheels.

Handmade Pottery

This is an inferior class of technique. Ceramics of this class were made from a paste of sandy clay mixed with chamotte (crushed shards), or more rarely mixed with sand and microshingle. The walls of these vessels were rough and porous because of poorly kneaded clay. Both the bottom and the walls of these vessels were thus quite thick. Traces of fingers can be seen both on the exterior and the interior of these vessels, as in the case of the vessels from the settlements at Dodești-*Călugăreasca*, Vaslui county,²⁵⁸ Izvoare-Biharea-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county,²⁵⁹ Lăpușel, Maramureș county,²⁶⁰ Remetea Mare-*Gomila lui Pituț*,²⁶¹ and others. Poor-quality clay made the vessels quite brittle, and that is why they are present in most settlements in a fragmentary state while the number of whole vessels or reconstructible vessels is quite low.²⁶² Incomplete and uneven firing created different shades of colour, from gray-brown to crimson. The quality of such firing implies that the pottery from these sites were fired in either simple or sunken ovens.

Five categories of handmade vessels can be distinguished according to type: pots, trays, strainers, bowls, and storage vessels.

255 S. Barachi and T. Papasima, "Un cuptor de ars oale din secolele IX–X de pe dealul Bugeac (com. Ostrov, jud. Constanța)," *SCIVA* 28 (1977): 591–95.

256 Ž. Vážarova, *Srednevekovnoto selišče s. Garvan, Silistrjanski okr'g VI–XI v.* (Sofia, 1986): 17–18.

257 Rošal' and Fëdorov, "Žilye i proizvodstvennye," 168; Tentiuc, *Cercetări arheologice*, 261–62.

258 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 89–92.

259 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 77–78.

260 I. Stanciu, "Așezarea prefeudală de la Lăpușel, jud. Maramureș (Cercetările arheologice din anii 1992, 1993)," *EN* 4 (1994): 303–5.

261 Bejan, *Banatul*, 75.

262 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 105.

- Pots. This category of vessels predominates in a number of settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries; for example, in Izvoare-Biharea-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, pots constituted eighty to eighty-five per cent of all handmade ceramic material,²⁶³ and 97.9 per cent at Hansca, Ialoveni rayon.²⁶⁴ We can distinguish several types of pots by their shape and size.²⁶⁵ This category of vessels is characterized by short and flared lips, inclined or vertical lips, and by the fact that the lips hollowed for a lid meet less often. The lips' edges are more or less blunted, straight, rounded, or thickened. The most frequently found ornamentation is stamped holes on the lips, with the incisions produced by a special tool (similar to a comb, representing wavy and horizontal lines), grooves on the lips, and vertical striations superimposed over horizontal ones. Undecorated vessels have also been found. Comparing the pots from the eighth–ninth centuries with those from the sixth–seventh centuries, we find that the chronologically later pots were decorated in a greater variety of ways and the elements of ornament covered a larger area compared to those of the sixth–seventh centuries, decorated only on the necks of the vessels.
- Trays. Trays are a category of vessels also documented in previous centuries (the sixth–seventh centuries), and have a circular shape with a diameter of approximately 20 to 25 cm, with a thickened base often bulging in the middle. The edge of these vessels is often straight, but there have been specimens found with a lip curving outwards. Pieces with a lip slightly curved inwards are more rare.²⁶⁶ Fragments of clay trays have been found in smaller numbers compared to other types of vessels. In the settlement at Dodești, Vaslui county, only a few fragments have been found,²⁶⁷ and in Hansca, Ialoveni rayon, clay trays constitute only one and a half per cent of the total number of ceramics discovered in the settlement dating from the eighth–ninth centuries.²⁶⁸ Clay trays are characterized by their shape—a flat disc with an edge 2 to 5.5 cm high. There are also cylindrical clay trays and those in the shape of a truncated cone. They are typically not decorated, but there are trays with holes, with wavy strips on the body, and stamped hollows where the lip meets. In the settlement at Lăpușel, Maramureș county, clay trays represent approximately thirty per cent of all handmade pottery, of which only approximately thirteen per cent are decorated.²⁶⁹
- Strainers. This category of vessel was common in settlements in the Prut-Dniester space starting in the eighth century, and was absent in the sixth–seventh centuries.²⁷⁰

263 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 77.

264 Postică, *Români*, 19, table 14.

265 Postică, *Români*, 20; Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 71–72.

266 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 79, fig. 27/10, 12; 34/13; 35/10; 41/9, 10; 44/7; 29/7.

267 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 92.

268 Postică, *Români*, 23, table 14.

269 Stanciu, "Așezarea prefeudală," 305.

270 Mihajlina and Timoščuk, "Slavjanskije pamjatniki," fig. 1/5, 15, 18; EKT USSR (1985), 109; Postică, *Români*, 23.

These vessels had several holes with a diameter of 0.4–0.6 cm in the walls, near the bottom. Two types of strainers can be distinguished by shape, namely pot-shaped and bowl-shaped.

- Bowls. Bowls are found relatively rarely and in most cases in fragmentary condition.²⁷¹ The majority of these vessels are in the shape of a truncated cone, from 7 to 15 cm tall. The collar is wide open and the bottom is relatively narrow. Respectively, the diameters range from twenty to 28 cm and from 8 to 20 cm respectively. The lips are thinned towards the edge and ornamentation is usually absent. Vessels with holes and grooves on the lip have also been found. Bowls that resemble pots due to the rounded form of their bodies constitute one more variant. The lip is slightly curved outwards and decorated with holes, and the body often contains horizontal and wavy incisions, as in the case of the vessels from Izvoare-Biharea-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county.²⁷²
- Storage vessels. The vessels in this category are simple pots of rather large sizes. The height varies between 35 and 50 cm and the diameter between 30 and 60 cm. Storage vessels were made of a coarse paste, the walls were 2 to 3 cm thick, and the bottom was 3 to 5 cm thick.

Pottery Made On a Slow Wheel

Vessels made on a slow wheel evince a well-kneaded paste, mixed with sand, microshingle, and chamotte, but because of the degreasing agents, these nevertheless became porous and brittle. There are vessels made of a better quality paste. Firing techniques were incomplete and uneven. The walls and bottoms of vessels are thinner than those of hand-made ceramics. The share of this class of pottery varies from one settlement to another, as it actually reflects the stage of the transition from handmade to wheel-spun pottery, a technological transformation that occurred during the eighth–ninth centuries in most regions north of the Lower Danube.²⁷³ The assortment of ceramics from the second class are represented only by pots in the shape of a truncated cone, barrel-shaped or pear-shaped, finding analogies with pots of the first class. Vessels made on a slow wheel were small and medium-sized, with a height between 16 and 30 cm, generally with a body decorated with straight and wavy striations, arranged simply or in strips, but pots with embossed compositions have also been found. Such vessels may be exemplified by the discoveries from the settlements in Dodești, Vaslui county,²⁷⁴ Izvoare-Biharea-*La pod la*

271 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 82, fig. 50 and 51/4; Rusanova, and Timoščuk, *Kodyn*, 15, fig. 4/9–10; L. V. Vakulenko and O. M. Prihodnjuk, *Slavjanske poselenija I tys. n.ē. u s. Sokol na Srednem Dnestre* (Kiev, 1984), 92–93, fig. 42; V. Fëdorov, “Naselenie,” 208, fig. 59/3; Rafalovič, *Slavjane*, 150, fig. 24/5–6; Postică, *Români*, 23, fig. 7/13–19.

272 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 78.

273 Mitrea, “Elemente comune,” 89; Mitrea, “Comunități sătești,” 173; Baltag, “Considerații generale,” 174.

274 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 88–89.

Hărmănești, Neamț county,²⁷⁵ *Davideni-La izvoare-Spiești*,²⁷⁶ *Hansca-Limbari-Căprărie*, Ialoveni rayon, Lăpușel, Maramureș county,²⁷⁷ *Remetea Mare-Gomila lui Pituș*,²⁷⁸ and so on.

Pottery Made On a Fast Wheel

The third class consists of ceramic vessels made on a fast wheel, which in terms of quality are superior to those of the first two classes. Ceramics of this class are made of a well-kneaded paste, with sand as the main degreaser and less microshindle and chamotte.²⁷⁹ The colour of the vessels varies, depending on technique and firing quality, from black, gray, or brown to red or crimson. From the point of view of the processing technology, it may be divided into two categories: ceramics made of a rough past and ceramics made of a fine paste.²⁸⁰

Ceramics made of a rough paste mixed with sand and microshingle, decorated with straight or wavy striations. The surface of these vessels is, however, relatively well smoothed, and the walls and the bottom of the vessels are thinner than those of the first class. In the assortment, pots with an asymmetric body and with traces of the wheel or insulation material on the surface of the bottom prevail. The vessels are decorated with horizontal and wavy lines, arranged in various combinations on the vessels' walls, made with a special tool (a comb). Ornamentation on the edge and on the lips of these vessels has rarely been found. Pottery decorated with incized lines was widespread in Europe in the ninth–eleventh centuries. Thus, in the regions of Lower Austria, even if the forms of the vessels are different,²⁸¹ the ornamentation is identical to those from the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space. This indicates the existence of a common regional tradition, the phenomenon called by some archaeologists “Keramik der mitteldanubischen Kulturtradition.”²⁸²

Ceramics made of a fine paste, well kneaded, with fine sand as degreaser, are named after the character of the surface, covered with a thin layer of *gray polished* engobe. These ceramics are known in the literature as the *Dridu*²⁸³ or *Saltovo* type, because it

275 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 79–80, fig. 34/6.

276 Mitrea, “Comunități sătești,” 173, fig. 136/2, 137/2–3; 138/1, 5.

277 Stanciu, “Așezarea prefeudală,” 305.

278 Bejan, “Aspecte”; Bejan, *Banatul*, 73–75.

279 Kozlov, “Die Keramik,” 177; Kozlov, *Naselenie stepnogo meždurec'ja*, 135.

280 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 81.

281 S. Felgenhauer-Schmiedt, “Zur Keramik des 9–11. Jh. aus Niederösterreich,” in *BR* 37 (2003): 29–38.

282 J. Macháček, “Studien zur Keramik der mitteldanubischen Kulturtradition,” in *SIArch* 45 (1997): 353–418.

283 E. Zaharia, *Săpăturile de la Dridu. Contribuție la arheologia și istoria perioadei de formare a poporului român* (București, 1967), 85–88.

was widespread in the area inhabited by the *Saltovo-Majack* culture.²⁸⁴ The vessels have a wide mouth, a bulging body, and a curved lip, with polished and incized ornamentation being characteristic, done with a special object. The firing was complete, owing to the use of special ovens, and the color is gray or black.²⁸⁵ Five categories of vessels can be distinguished: pots, jugs, bowls, storage vases, and rushlight holders. Pots are spheroidal and ovoidal vases with midsized mouths and bottoms,²⁸⁶ some equipped with handles.²⁸⁷ Jugs are tall, and with one handle, amphoroidal. With two handles, piriform. A wide mouth and a small beak on the lip are characteristic of the first type, and a high vertical lip, a narrow mouth, and a wide bottom are typical of the second.²⁸⁸ **Bowls** have the shapes of truncated cones with a vertical lip, while the shape is cylindrical with flat lips inclined outwards, similar to spheroidal pots with a wide mouth, and a height of approximately 7 cm and a diameter of 17.5 cm.²⁸⁹ Storage vessels have the shapes of truncated cones, but their dimensions are larger, as the height is between 35 to 50 cm and the walls are adorned with bands of incized lines or polished decorations. Rushlight holders are shaped like bowls with holes for hanging them up. A whole rushlight holder was found within the settlement at Calfa, Anenii Noi rayon.²⁹⁰ In most cases, the ceramic items from this group have been discovered only in fragments and as a small percentage of total finds, and in some areas of Transylvania and northern Moldova are totally missing.²⁹¹ Gray polished pottery is best-known in the settlements south of Wallachia, in Bugeac,²⁹² in many settlements in Dobrogea²⁹³ and south of the Danube.²⁹⁴ In the settlement of Izvoare-Bahna-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, only a few fragments of

284 Cs. Bálint, ed., *Die Keramik der Saltovo Majaki Kultur und ihrer Varianten*, Varia Archeologica Hungarica 3 (Budapest, 1990).

285 Smilenko and Kozlovskij, "Srednevekovye poselenija," 98–121.

286 G. F. Čebotarenko, "Die Keramik des mittleren und südlichen Dneser-Prut. Gebietes im 8.–12. Jh.," in *Die Keramik der Saltovo Majaki Kultur und ihrer Varianten*, ed. Cs. Bálint, Varia Archeologica Hungarica 3 (Budapest, 1990), 49–52, pl. 1–3.

287 Zaharia, *Săpăturile de la Dridu*, 86.

288 Čebotarenko, "Die Keramik," 53, pl. 7/1,7.

289 Čebotarenko, "Die Keramik," 52–53, pl. 8/4.

290 Čebotarenko, *Kalfa*, 25–26, fig. 21.

291 Stanciu, "Despre ceramica," 127–68; A. Ioniță, "La céramique du Haut Moyen Âge de Dridu "La Metereze" (dép. de Ialomița)," *Dacia N.S.* 40–42 (1996–1998): 305–82; E. Corbu, "Așezarea medieval-timpurie de la Ș. cel Mare, Punctul Feteasca (județul Călărași) sec. IX–X - campania 1995," *Pontica* 30 (1997): 263.

292 Čebotarenko, "Die Keramik"; Kozlov, "Die Keramik"; Kozlov, *Naselenie stepnogo meždureč'ja*, 129–201.

293 Zaharia, *Săpăturile de la Dridu*, 103–34.

294 Lj. Dončeva-Petkova, "Die protobulgarische Keramik in Bulgarien," in *Die Keramik der Saltovo Majaki Kultur und ihrer Varianten*, ed. Cs. Bálint, Varia Archeologica Hungarica 3 (Budapest, 1990), 77–99.

polished gray pottery were found in nine of the twenty-three investigated complexes.²⁹⁵ In Tîrgșorul Vechi a fragment of this type with an incized mark was discovered,²⁹⁶ which finds its analogies in the pottery discovered in Pliska dating from the first half of the ninth century. The sigil of the vessel is composed of three vertical lines, with the middle one being bifurcated at both ends. The sign was scratched after the vessel's firing (*graffito*). In the settlements south of the Prut-Dniester space, polished gray ceramics constitute 15–20 per cent²⁹⁷ of the total number of discovered ceramics. Typically, gray polished pottery is more often found in complexes dating from the second half of the ninth–tenth century, characteristic of the majority of the settlements in Banat,²⁹⁸ Wallachian Plain, and Dobrogea.²⁹⁹

Potter's Signs

There were embossed marks on the bottom of some vessels made on the potter's wheel, representing potter's signs,³⁰⁰ whose study can give us some information on the craft of pottery, pottery workshops, exchanges and trade routes, cultural influences, and so on. The number of potter's signs produced seems to have grown with the development of the technology of ceramics manufacturing. Potter's signs have been found on vessels made both on a fast wheel and on a slow wheel, such as in Bădăcin-*Ogrăzi*, Sălaj county,³⁰¹ *Zalău-B-dul Mihai Viteazul, nr. 104–106*,³⁰² and others. Their evolution has been particularly tracked in the settlements of the ninth–eleventh centuries, such as in Cluj-Mănăștur,³⁰³ Cluj, Hansca-*Limbari-Căprărie*, the Ialoveni rayon, and so on. Signs embossed on the bottoms of vessels are characteristic of both variants.

The archaeological investigations of the last six to seven decades have revealed a rich and diverse trove of ceramic material, analysis of which shows the evolution of the craft

295 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 49–68, dwelling nos. 2, 3, 5, 11, 14, 15, 16, 22, and 27.

296 N. Constantinescu, "În legătură cu un semn de pe un vas prefeudal din specia cenușie de la Tîrgșor," in *SMPTIP* 1 (1961): 45–52.

297 G. F. Čebotarenko, "K voprosu ob etničeskoj prinadležnosti balkano-dunajskoj kul'tury v južnoj časti Prutsko-Dnestrovskogo Meždureč'ja," in *Etničeskaja istorija vostočnyh romancev. Drevnost' i srednie veka* (Moskva, 1979), 88; Čebotarenko, "Die Keramik," 56, pl. 4; Kozlov, "Die Keramik," 71–191.

298 V. Đorđević, "Podaci o gončariji IX–XI veka u oblasti Vršca," *Glasnik prilozii za nauku umetnost i kulturu* 9, 10, Pančevo, Vršac, Zrenjanin, Kikinda (December, 2000), 27.

299 Zaharia, *Săpăturile de la Dridu*, 85–88, 136–37.

300 M. Comșa, "Cu privire la semnificația mărcilor de olar din epoca feudală timpurie," *SCIV* 2, 12 (1961): 291–305; P. Diaconu, "Din nou despre originea practicii mărcilor de olar," *Pontica* 25 (1992): 355–58; D. Băcuet-Crișan and M. Ciorba, "Vase medievale timpurii (sec. VII–XI) cu semne, mărci de olar descoperite în județul Sălaj," *AMP* 26 (2004): 355–66.

301 Băcuet-Crișan and Ciorba, "Vase medievale," 356, pl. III/1.

302 Băcuet-Crișan and Ciorba, "Vase medievale," 357, pl. IV/3.

303 Iambor and Matei, "Incinta fortificată," pl. III/18.

of pottery to the north of the Lower Danube in the early Middle Ages. Thus, we observe that in the late seventh century and the beginning of the eighth century, together with handmade pottery, pottery made on a slow wheel appears. After this, gradually, during the eighth–ninth centuries, the share of pottery made on a fast wheel increases substantially, a phenomenon that, geographically and technologically, occurred in a broad European context.

Bonework and Hornwork

In most of the early medieval settlements investigated north of the Lower Danube dwellings, outbuildings, pits, and workshops have been discovered, inside of which there were many varied pieces demonstrating the practice of various household crafts, such as metalwork, stonework, leatherwork, woodwork, weaving, spinning, pottery, and so on. Bonework and hornwork comprise an impressive category of pieces in this train.

The research regarding bonework handicrafts is of particular importance to the process of reconstituting the level of economic development and the livelihoods of the people belonging to various communities and historical periods.³⁰⁴ As bonework had a direct link with other occupations, pieces of bone were made according to human business requirements, usually for agriculture, leatherwork, spinning, weaving, tailoring, hunting, fishing, and so on. Some pieces of bone also had a spiritual-religious function.

Thanks to favourable conditions for farming and hunting, members of various communities were generating large amounts of raw material, which stimulated the development of occupations related to processing bone.³⁰⁵ These discoveries include numerous objects made of bone and horn for various household needs. The sheer numbers and diversity in this category of archaeological pieces discovered in the early medieval settlements of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space demonstrate the frequent practice of bonework and hornwork together with other occupations. The technological specifics of bonework, the needed skills, and the exchange relationships thus developed led to the emergence of workshops and craftsmen specializing in making objects from horn and bone.

Raw Material

Most studies in the domain of archaeozoology analyse osteological material according to a general framework, without distinction between parts made of bone, which complicates a thorough study of early medieval communities' preferences for certain animal species and skeletal elements.³⁰⁶ Owing to the data available today we can see

304 A. Choyke, "Backward Reflections on Ancient Environments: What Can We Learn from Bone Tools?," in *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, ed. J. Lászlóvszky: Szabó (Budapest, 2003), 138–56.

305 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 43–47.

306 S. Haimovici, "Fauna din așezările feudale timpurii (secolele VIII–X) de la Bucov-Ploiești," *SCIVA* 30 (1979): 163–213; S. Haimovici, "Studiul arheozoologic al resturilor provenind din

that the raw material for making objects from bone came from both domestic and wild animals' bones. Most pieces were processed cattle bones, antlers, and roebuck horns, and only very rarely from the bones of birds and fish. This has been demonstrated, for example, by the results of osteological material analyses regarding the settlement at Gornea-Căunița de Sus, Caraș-Severin county, România.³⁰⁷

Workshops

In a series of constructions from the eighth–ninth centuries numerous osteological remains were discovered, including semi-finished and finished pieces of bone, iron tools, and abrasive stones, which are directly related to the craft of bonework. The numerical concentration of such pieces inside these constructions can be connected with the work of craftsmen skilled in bonework. A case study in this regard is presented by the findings from the settlement at Izvoare-Bahna-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, România. In nine out of twenty-three investigated constructions from the eighth–ninth centuries in this settlement they discovered pieces of bone (needles, handles, pendants) or of metal and stone (knives, burnishing stones) with a direct link to bonework. Construction nr. 5 is of special interest. Twenty-seven needles were discovered inside it, finished or semi-finished, along with a grit with specific traces resulting from the processing of such pieces.³⁰⁸ The impressive number of bone pieces exceeded the needs of a single household, and therefore, in all likelihood, this construction was a factory for bonework and possibly for leatherwork.

Typology of Bone Pieces

In view of the great diversity of pieces made of bone, the discoveries in the early medieval settlements in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space can be divided according to their function, into several categories of items—tools, accessories for tools, parts of

așezarea din secolele IX–X e.n. de la Gara Banca–județul Vaslui," *AMM* 7–8 (1985–1986): 171–85; Haimovici, "Studiul resturilor paleofaunistice din așezarea de la Lozna-Străteni, datînd din sec. VII–VIII e.n.," *Hierasus* 6 (1986): 83–95; Haimovici, "Studiul materialului paleofaunistic descoperit în așezările de la Mălăești și Vărătic (județul Neamț) din sec. VI–IX e.n.," *MA* 15–17 (1987): 273–80; Haimovici, "Studiul arheozoologic al materialului provenit din așezarea de la Sinicolau Român (jud. Bihor)," *Crisia* 19 (1989): 169–79; Haimovici, "Studiul materialului paleofaunistic descoperit în Stațiunea arheologică de la Slon din perioada feudalismului timpuriu," in *AMIAP* 1 (1991): 157–61; Haimovici, "Studiul arheozoologic"; S. Stanc and L. Bejenaru, "L'évaluation d'âge de sacrifice et des données métriques concernant les animaux exploités dans l'établissement de Poiana/Suceava (VIIIème–IXème siècle)," *AȘUI* 47 (2001): 171–80; Stanc and Bejenaru, "Archaeozoological"; S. Stanc, L. Bejenaru, and S. Leonov, "Donnees arheozoologiques concernant les restes de faune provenant du site de Poiana, departement de Suceava (VIIIème–IXème siècle)," in *Volum omagial Vasile Radu* (Cluj-Napoca, 2002), 123–28; Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*; EL SUSI 1989.

307 Mare, *Banatul*, 59.

308 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 53, fig. 50/1–10; 51/1–13; 52/1–3, 8 and fig. 52/7.

ornaments and toiletries (buttons, beads, buckles, amulets, combs, etc.), game pieces (knucklebones, dice), skating and sledding items, musical instruments (the flute), and weapons (arrowheads, spring elements). Semi-finished items represent a separate category, proving the practice of this craft in the investigated settlements.

Tools

Pieces made of bone had broad utility in household activities. Thus, their research contributes to the reconstitution of the level of development for agricultural occupations, leatherwork, spinning, weaving, tailoring, hunting, and fishing during the early Middle Ages.

Needles. The largest category of bone pieces are needles, found in practically every settlement from the eighth–ninth centuries in Southeastern Europe.³⁰⁹ For example, in nine out of twenty-three investigated complexes in the settlement at Izvoare-Bahna-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, forty-four pieces of this kind were discovered,³¹⁰ of which twenty-seven were in Construction nr. 5.³¹¹ In the settlement at Bucov, Prahova county, România, sixty-five needles have been found,³¹² and in Hligeni, Șoldănești rayon, the Republic of Moldova, there were seventy-six.³¹³ The pieces were made from the bones of small animals, especially those of sheep and goats, with the tibia having been used the most often, but pieces made of bone fragments have also been found. They discovered needles made from a roebuck's bones and the tips of horns, such as, for example, the pieces found in Cefa-*Cicocoș*, Bihor county,³¹⁴ Davideni-*La izvoare-Spiești*, Neamț county,³¹⁵ Dodești, Vaslui county,³¹⁶ Sighișoara-*Dealul Viilor*, Mureș county,³¹⁷ România, and so on.

Some needles were decorated with incized circles, as was the specimen discovered in Iași-*Casa Cărtii*, Iași county, Romania. The piece is slightly curved and coloured, with simple or concentric circles on one side, placed at equal distances, and had a slightly recessed bladder in the centre.³¹⁸ The category of decorated pieces also contains the discoveries from Dodești, Vaslui county, Romania.³¹⁹

309 G. Atanasov, "Srednevekovni kostni izdele ot Silistra," *INMV* 23 (1987): 101–14; G. Marjanović-Bujović, "Kost i rog ranosrednjovekovni," in *Istorija primenjenih umestosti kod Srba* (Beograd, 1977), 175–82; V. Mahojlović-Nikolić, "Slovenski predmeti od kosti i roga," *RVM* 39 (1997): 155–58; Mitrea, "Elemente comune," 89.

310 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 46–70, dwelling nos. 1, 5, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 30.

311 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 53.

312 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 44; Pascu et al., "Dinamica structurilor," 198.

313 Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, 59–60.

314 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 183.

315 Mitrea, "Comunități sătești," 173, fig. 76/11.

316 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 82, fig. 34.

317 Dulea, "Considerații," 216.

318 V. Chirica and M. Tanasachi, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Iași*, 1 (Iași, 1984), 198.

319 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 80, fig. 32/2.

The dimensions of these pieces vary, from 4 cm to 20 cm. The length of the needles from the settlements at Popeni-*Ciceu*, Sălaj county, Romania, vary between 3.8 cm, 8 cm, and 11.0 cm,³²⁰ and of those from Sânnicolau Român-*Bereac*, Bihor county, Romania, vary between 8 and 9 cm.³²¹ The pieces from Vladimirescu-*La Cetate*, Arad county, Romania, vary between nine and 11.6 cm.³²² Numerous pieces were discovered in the settlements at Mășcăuți-*Livada Boierului* and Mășcăuți-*Cetate*, Criuleni rayon, Republic of Moldova; their lengths vary between 10 and 20 cm.³²³ Most needles are pointed at one end. The active part, sometimes even the entire surface of these pieces, were intensely polished, showing a specific luster. Some researchers, due to the form and ethnographic analogies, believe that needles were used in leatherworking,³²⁴ while others characterize them as universal tools, used to attach fabrics to the walls of dwellings or to weave nets and decorate clay pots.³²⁵ Due to the fact that the technology of net weaving requires a frequent change of the thread-bearing tool's direction of movement, crochets are used for this purpose, which is to say tools bifurcated at both ends, which certainly could also be made of bone, wood or metal, and not needles, which are completely unsuitable as a form of achieving such operations.

Polishers and bone cutters. Polishers are also made of bone, and were used particularly for leather processing, one of the constant occupations of early Medieval community members.³²⁶ Pieces of this kind were usually made of large animals' ribs, and, according to ethnographic data, were also used as drawing scrapers.³²⁷ The active surfaces of these pieces are very well polished (Săcuieni-*Suro Dombo*, Bihor county,³²⁸ Lăpușel-*Ciurgău*, Maramureș county, Popeni-*Cuceu*, Sălaj county,³²⁹ Romania), in all likelihood as a result of their long use.³³⁰ Their lengths vary between 10 and 20 cm.³³¹ In the settlements at Hligeni-*La șanț*, Mășcăuți-*Livada Boierului*, Criuleni rayon, and Trebujeni-*Scoc*, Orhei rayon, in the Republic of Moldova, they discovered pieces with lengths between 15 and 20 cm. In order to remove fat from the leather, they used another category of piece, differing in form from the polishers, which are called bone cutters with a curved edge in the specialized literature. The piece found in Mășcăuți-*Livada Boierului*, Criuleni rayon,

320 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 214, pl. 190/1–2 and 201/4–6.

321 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 226.

322 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 237, 238, pl. 268/3–4, 272/3.

323 S. Musteață, "Meșteșugul prelucrării osului și cornului la nordul Dunării de Jos în sec. VIII–IX," *RA S.N. 2* (2006): 128–42.

324 Rafalovič, *Slavjane*, 209.

325 E. V. Maksimov and V. A. Petrașenko, *Slavjanskije pamjatniki u s. Monastyrek na Srednem Dnestre* (Kiev, 1988), 91.

326 M. Deselnicu, Șt. Olteanu, and V. Teodorescu, *Istoria prelucrării pieilor pe teritoriul României* (București, 1984).

327 Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, fig. CXLVI.9–12; Tentiuc, *Cercetări arheologice*, fig. 6.13.

328 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 222.

329 Dulea, "Considerații," 247.

330 Rafalovič, *Slavjane*, 209.

331 Timoščuk, *Slovjani Pivničnoj*, 106, fig. 18.14.

was made of a tubular bone fragment from a large animal, sharpened at one edge. It has a length of 15.5 cm. The piece from Mășcăuți-*Livada Boierului* finds its analogies in bone cutters discovered in an early medieval settlement at Pada, in northern Estonia (dating from the seventh–eleventh centuries).³³²

Pallet knives for tanning. In order to remove fat from the skins they also used bone pallet knives, such as those found in Alcedar-*Odaia*, Șoldănești rayon, Republic of Moldova, Borșeni-*Bulgărie*, Neamț county, Romania, Brănești, Orhei rayon, Republic of Moldova, Dobrynovcy, Chernivtsi region, Ukraine,³³³ Lozna, Botoșani county, Poiana-În *Huci la Fedcu*, Suceava county,³³⁴ Romania, Trebujeni-*Scoc*, Orhei rayon, Rudi, Soroca rayon, Republic of Moldova, and so on. These pieces were usually made from the wide part of antlers, having a trapezoidal shape and a wide, slightly sharpened blade. In House nr. thirteen in Rudi the piece was made of a skull fragment from a deer; the end of the clutch had four symmetrical holes for fastening the wooden handle.³³⁵ In the specialized literature, these pieces are also termed rakers.³³⁶

Needles. In a number of complexes in early medieval settlements in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space needles made both of iron and bone have been discovered, which were surely used in tailoring and in making other textile and leather articles.³³⁷ The majority of these needles were discovered in the settlements at Dodești, Vaslui county,³³⁸ Poian-*Loc de Piatră*, Covasna county,³³⁹ Hligeni-*La șanț*, Șoldănești rayon, Ivancea, Orhei rayon, Republic of Moldova, and Perebykovcy, Chernivtsi region, Ukraine, and were made of thin bones. Their lengths vary between 6–9 cm. One of their ends is well sharpened and the other one is slightly flattened, with a circular or oval hole with a diameter of 0.2–0.3 cm. One such piece was discovered in the settlement at Mășcăuți-*Livada Boierului*, Criuleni rayon, Republic of Moldova. The needle was made of a thin flat bone. The piece, in a fragmentary state, is 5.7 cm long and 0.8–1.0 cm wide. The sharp end is missing, while the other end is slightly flattened and provided with a hole. The size of the needle suggests that it could be used to make leather pieces.

332 H. Luik and L. Maldre, "Bone and Antler Artifacts from the Settlement Site and Cemetery of Pada in North Estonia," in *From Hooves to Horns, from Mollusc to Mammoth. Manufactures and Use of Bone Artefacts from Prehistoric Times to the Present*. Proceeding of the 4th Meeting of the ICAZ Worked Bone Research Group at Tallin, August 26–31, 2003, ed. H. Luik, A. M. Choyke, C. E. Batey, and L. Lõugas (Tallin, 2005), 265, fig. 4.

333 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 106, fig. 18.17–18.

334 Andronic, "Cultura materială, 242–44.

335 V. S. Bejlekči, "Raskopki slavjanskogo poselenija Rudi v 1981–1982 gg.," *AIM v 1982 g.* (1986): 104, fig. 2/1.

336 Andronic, "Poiana o așezare," 47.

337 Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 82.

338 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 80, fig. 32/3.

339 Dulea, "Considerații," 216.

Cases for needles. Another category of bone objects are cases for needles, made from animal tibia. The pieces discovered in the settlements from Etulia, Republic of Moldova, Hligeni-*La șanțuri*, Șoldănești rayon, Trebujeni-*Scoc*, Orhei rayon, Republic of Moldova, and Vladimirescu-*La Cetate*,³⁴⁰ Arad county, Romania were between 4.5–10 cm long with a diameter of 0.7–1 cm.³⁴¹ Two other cases were discovered in the settlement at Orlea, Olt county, Romania, 6.5 cm and 6.6 cm long respectively.³⁴² Such cases for needles were very widespread in settlements dating from the eighth century in Southeastern Europe.³⁴³

Pieces for spinning, knitting, and weaving. This category includes reeling devices, knitting needles, and shuttles. Reeling devices were used in weaving wool or vegetal threads. Fragments of a reeling device, made of the top of a deer horn, were discovered in the settlement at Hligeni-*La șanțuri*, Șoldănești rayon.³⁴⁴ Knitting needles are similar in form to those of bone, but are larger and are not provided with a hole at one end to insert the thread; this is the case for a piece discovered in Dodești, Vaslui county, Romania.³⁴⁵ Such pieces could serve both as knitting needles and as hair-clips.³⁴⁶ Shuttles were made of thin, tubular bones, with a length of between 6 and 10 cm, as is the case for the pieces discovered in Trebujeni-*Scoc*, Pohorniceni, Orhei rayon,³⁴⁷ Rudi, Soroca rayon,³⁴⁸ Republic of Moldova, and others.

Accessories for tools. This category of bone objects includes handles and cutting blades for knives, sickles, and so on, found in Alcedar-*Odaia*, Șoldănești rayon, Echimăuți,³⁴⁹ Rezina rayon, Brănești, Lucașeuca, Orhei rayon, Hansca-*Limbari-Căprăria*, Ialoveni rayon, Hligeni-*La șanțuri*, Șoldănești rayon,³⁵⁰ Republic of Moldova, Izvoare-Bahna-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, Romania,³⁵¹ and so on. These pieces were mainly made from the tibia of cattle or deer; this is a case for two handles discovered in a settlement at Vladimirescu-*La Cetate*, Arad county, Romania.³⁵² They reach 10 to 20 cm in length, and their surface is often decorated. The ornamentation characteristic of the pieces from the eighth–ninth centuries (handles and combs) consisted of incisions, one–two concentric circles with a point in the

340 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 238, pl. 271/4; Dulea, “Considerații,” 216.

341 Gol’ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen’ II*, fig. CIX.11; Jovkov, “Etulija VII,” 145, fig. 3.4.

342 Uzum, “Mărturiile arheologice de civilizație,” 236.

343 St. Stančev and St. Ivanov, *Nekropolât do Novi Pazar* (Sofia, 1958), 98–99, table XXXIV.1–4 & XXXV.1–2, fig. 63–65, 67, 69–71, 107–8.

344 Gol’ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen’ II*, fig. CXV/2.

345 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 80, fig. 32/4.

346 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 44.

347 Hynku, *Poselenija XI–XIV*, 44, fig. 45/b, 6,7 and fig. 49/b,6.

348 Rošal’ and Fëdorov, “Žilye i proizvodstvennye,” 157.

349 Fëdorov, “Gorodišče Ekimaucy,” 124.

350 Gol’ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen’ II*, fig. CIX.7.

351 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 59, fig. 49/7.

352 Dulea, “Considerații,” 216; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 237, pl. 268/5, 269/3.

middle, some so-called mesh decoration, or geometric ornamentation made of zigzagging lines and curves.³⁵³

Stencils. Stencils constitute a special category of pieces made of bone and horn, and were used for making ornaments and clothes via a pressing technique. Such pieces were discovered in a workshop from the seventh–eighth centuries in Costești-*Vatra satului*, Iași county, Romania.³⁵⁴ Two of the stencils have a parallelepiped shape. There were forms of appliques and earrings with a stellated pendant and hemispheres engraved on their surfaces. There was a rectangular buckle plate engraved on one stencil, and an applique decorated with anthropomorphic motifs on the other. The other four stencils have various ovals, semispheres, and small squares carved on their surface. Together with the stencils, they discovered an object with rounded ends, used, in all likelihood, for pressing metal plates.³⁵⁵

Toiletries and Clothing Pieces

Combs. In a series of early medieval settlements in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space bone objects similar to combs have been discovered (Alcedar-*Odaia*, Rezina rayon, Calfa, Anenii Noi rayon, Hansca-*Limbari-Căprăria*, Ialoveni rayon, Trebujeni-*Scoc*, Orhei rayon, Republic of Moldova, and so on.)³⁵⁶ A comb in a fragmentary state was discovered in the settlement at Mășcăuți-*Livada Boierului*, Criuleni rayon. The piece, with a total length of 15 cm, consists of three elements: the teeth of the comb (which, unfortunately, are fragmentary), a handle, and an end to be tied. The combs of the eighth–ninth centuries are characterized by a single row of teeth, with a handle sometimes decorated with geometric motifs, created by the technique of incision. According to some researchers, these pieces were used for incizing ornamentation on pottery.³⁵⁷

Pieces of adornment and clothing. A series of discoveries made of bone, such as pendants, appliqués, buttons, beads, buckles, and so on, fall into the category of adornment and clothing pieces. In House nr. twenty-two in the settlement of Izvoare-Bahna-*La pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, Romania, they discovered a bone pendant, roughly conical in shape, with two orifices on the thick end and decorative ornamentation made by incizing meshes.³⁵⁸ In the settlement at Poiana-În *Huci la Fedcu*, Suceava county, Romania, another pendant, made of a well-polished horn's tip and pierced at the thick end, has also been found.³⁵⁹

Objects and pieces made of scallop- and clam-shells occupy a special place, as these materials are often found within early medieval settlements (Gornea-*Zomonite*,

353 Pascu et al., “Dinamica structurilor,” 198.

354 Teodor, “Elemente,” 102, 106, fig. 3,4,5.

355 Teodor, *Romanitatea*, fig. 11; Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 46, fig. 17.

356 Čebotarenko, *Kalfa*, 95, fig. 13; Rafalovič, *Slavjane*, 209.

357 Čebotarenko, *Kalfa*, 95, fig. 13; Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 45.

358 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 65, fig. 49/9.

359 Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 48, pl. 28/3.

Caraș-Severin county, Sânnicolau Român, Bihor county, Romania,³⁶⁰ and so on). In the settlement at Mășcăuți-Livada Boierului, a string of “jewellery” was discovered, made up of five scallop or river shells, each having an orifice in the top so as to be threaded. It has long been known that mollusks have been eaten since ancient times. Our discovery only confirms the role and the economic importance of mollusks. Their use in alimentation³⁶¹ or as ornaments, as well as their discovery in tombs such as those in the cemetery at Alba Iulia, Alba county,³⁶² or in the cemetery at Nin-Ždrijac, in Croatia,³⁶³ suggests their spiritual or, at minimum, decorative significance as well.

In the settlement at Šabo, Odessa region, Ukraine, a piece of bone, in all likelihood a semi-finished buckle, which represents a rectangular plate with a hole of 3 by 2.5 cm.³⁶⁴ Bone buckles are characteristic to the harness inventory of the Turanian peoples in the Middle Ages.³⁶⁵

In some settlements appliques and buttons of various shapes and sizes have been discovered, both simple and decorated.³⁶⁶

Pieces for Games and Entertainment

Knucklebones. Along with those objects of bone with economic functionality, pieces have also been found that can be linked to certain entertainments. In the settlements at Durlești, Chișinău municipality, Răciula, Călărași rayon, Lucașeuca, Brănești, Orhei rayon, Hansca, Molești, Ialoveni rayon, Mășcăuți, Criuleni rayon, Republic of Moldova, and so on, knucklebones³⁶⁷ coming from small, medium or large animals have been discovered (from sheep and, more rarely, cows). Many of them exhibit traces of processing and decoration: one or two holes, or nets of incized lines made on one side of the workpiece. The perforation of knucklebones suggests that they were used as amulets or toys, and the largest as weights.

Musical objects. Smaller pieces, having one or more holes similar to musical instruments (flutes) were made of tubular bones or bone fragments from small animals (sheep, goats, or birds).³⁶⁸ Similar pieces have been discovered in the settlements at Fălcu-Casa de apă, Dodești, Murgeni, Vaslui county, Cavadinești, Galați county, and so on.³⁶⁹ Such pieces

360 Dulea, “Considerații,” 250.

361 Haimovici, “Studiul resturilor,” 85.

362 A. V. Grossu, M. Blăjan, and D. Botezatu, “The Grave with Offer of Mollusca (8th Century) Discovered at Alba Iulia ‘First Aid Station,’” *EN* 3 (1993): 274.

363 J. Belošević, *Materijalna Kultura Hrvata od VII do IX stoljeća* (Zagreb, 1980).

364 Smilenko and Kozlov, “Slavjanskoe poselenie,” 124, fig. 3.13.

365 G. B. Kubarev, *Kul'tura drevnich tjurok Altaja (po materialam pogrebal'nyh pamjatnikov)* (Novosibirsk, 2005), 133–36, fig. 38/1–19, 21, 22.

366 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 45.

367 Tentiuc, *Cercetări arheologice*, fig. 6.6.

368 M. G. Rabinovič, “Muzykal'nye instrumenty v vojske Drevnej Rusi i narodnye muzykal'nye instrumenty,” *SE* 4 (1946); Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 46.

369 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 78, fig. 33/5, 7–8; 36/5.

are very similar to needle cases as they are, in most cases, burial artifacts, such as, for example, the case of graves at Obârșia Nouă-*Coada bălții*, Olt county; therefore their functionality is understood differently in the specialized literature.³⁷⁰

Skates. Bone pieces made of the tibias of large animals, some perforated longitudinally and with a well-polished active face, are thought to have functioned as skates. Such pieces were discovered in the settlements at Poiana-În *Huci la Fedcu*,³⁷¹ Suceava county, România, and Rudi, Soroca rayon, Republic of Moldova.³⁷²

Semi-finished pieces. Bonework is also evidenced by the numerous discoveries of semi-finished pieces made out of bone and horn and reserves of them as raw materials.³⁷³ Unfinished pieces have been discovered in the settlements at Alcedar-*Odaia*, Șoldănești rayon, Mășcăuți-*Livada Boierului*, Mășcăuți-*Cetate*,³⁷⁴ Criuleni rayon, Republic of Moldova, Dodești, Vaslui county, Romania,³⁷⁵ and so on. In Mășcăuți-*Livada Boierului* they found a flat piece that could have been a comb in the process of being worked, and in Alcedar-*Odaia*, Șoldănești rayon, Mășcăuți-*Cetate*, Criuleni rayon, Proscureni-*Troșcja*, Râșcani rayon,³⁷⁶ Republic of Moldova, and Dodești, Vaslui county, Poiana-În *Huci la Fedcu*, Suceava county, Romania,³⁷⁷ they discovered fragments of antlers with traces of processing either via cutting or carving. As the horn was only in the initial phase of processing and had not been cut, it seems obvious, considering its size, that this piece could have served for the manufacturing of specific pieces of adornment or knife handles. In the settlement at Vladimirescu-*La Cetate*,³⁷⁸ Arad county, Romania, antlers were discovered which could serve to manufacture various pieces.

Processing techniques. Analysis of the material used for making these objects shows a preference for large cattle and sheep but without the bones of other animals being ignored: deer horn, the bones of wild boar, and more rarely those of roebuck, wolf, or rabbit have been found. Objects made of bird and fish bones have been found much more rarely.

The process of boneworking involves several stages from the technological point of view. The first would be cutting, splintering, and sharpening semi-finished pieces, followed by smoothing and polishing them. In the case of some categories of pieces, they

370 O. Toropu and O. Stoica, "Necropola prefeudală creștină de la Obârșia Nouă, județul Olt," *MO* 29 (1969): 570–77; U. Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern des 6. bis 9. Jahrhunderts an der unteren Donau* (Bonn, 1992), 211, fig. 48/5–8.

371 Andronic, *Teritoriul*, 48, pl. 27/2,7,11.

372 Roșal' and Fëdorov, "Žilye i proizvodstvennye," 176.

373 Gol'ceva and Kașuba, *Glinžen' II*, fig. CXV.3; CXXIX.13, 15, 19, 20, 22.

374 Musteață, "Meșteșugul prelucrării osului."

375 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 80, fig. 32/5.

376 I. G. Hynku and V. C. Titov, "Iz istorii sela Kosteșty po dannym raskopok 1973," *AIM v 1973 g.* (1974): 172.

377 Andronic, "Poiana o așezare," 48, pl. 27/2,7,11.

378 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 238, pl. 272/4.

underwent shaping, hole punching, fixing, and decorating. Horn and larger bones were cut into smaller pieces, from which various objects were made.³⁷⁹

Types of Tools for Bonework

Knives. Most pieces of bone were initially processed with a knife and then polished with sandstones. Their typological analysis shows us that these tools essentially did not develop over the sixth–thirteenth centuries. The fact that some tools, such as knives, were made by local craftsmen is shown by the semi-finished pieces with unsharpened cutting edges for knives.³⁸⁰ The dimensions of the knives, the handles of which are in the shape of a peduncle, are different, ranging between 6.5 cm and 13 cm; the triangular blade is 4 to 9 cm long, 0.6–1.5 cm wide, and has a narrow edge toward the top, 0.2–0.4 cm thick. The transition from handle to blade is made by a verge, cut perpendicularly or obliquely, made on both sides of the blade. The knives that have a handle as a continuation of the blade are rare, but for these, the verge is present only on the cutting edge. The research has shown prolonged use of these tools, evidenced by their high degree of wear and the fact that the edge is often curved inwards in the middle. Typologically we distinguish between two variants of knives. The knives of the first variant, prevailing in most settlements, have a peduncle that is fixed in a handle made of wood or horn. The knives of the second variant have a flat, rectangular handle, sometimes with holes for fixing one and another part to it by means of rivets, or some bone or wooden handles. The length of the handle sometimes coincided with the length of the blade (15 to 20 cm).

Abrasive stones. Smoothing and polishing pieces of bone was done using abrasive stones—hard, sandy rocks, which, in most cases, do not have a regular shape. They were usually made of flat slabs of gray, brown, or green sandstone of crystalline rocks. Up to four grinding bevels can be distinguished on some of these objects, resulting from sharpening. Special stones (grinders) were used to sharpen bone needles; this operation resulted in the appearance of specific deep grooves without a regular arrangement; this is the case for the pieces discovered in the settlements at Hligeni, Șoldănești rayon,³⁸¹ Mășcăuți-Cetate, Criuleni rayon, Republic of Moldova,³⁸² Izvoare-Bahna-La pod la Hărmănești, Neamț county,³⁸³ Murgeni-La IAS, Vaslui county, Romania,³⁸⁴ and so on.

379 A. MacGregor, *Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn. The Technology of Skeletal Materials since the Roman Period* (London-Sydney-Totowa, 1985).

380 Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, 59, fig. CXXVII.11.

381 Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, fig. CXII.1.

382 Musteață, "Meșteșugul prelucrării osului."

383 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 53, dwellings no. 5, fig. 52/7; 58, no. 15, fig. 49/8; 59, no. 16, fig. 49/10; 61, and no. 17.

384 E.-M. Constantinescu, *Memoria pământului dintre Carpați și Dunăre. Nord-estul Munteniei și sud-vestul Moldovei în veacurile IV–XI d.Hr.* (București, 1999), 197, 224, no. 93:a; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 120.

Drills. These pieces were made of a metal rod, which was twisted to give it its characteristic form, such as in the case of the discoveries at Bezid-Nagyszénafű, Mureş county,³⁸⁵ Gornea-Zomonite, Caraş-Severin county, Romania,³⁸⁶ Alcedar-Odaia, Şoldăneşti rayon, Rudi-Roşcana, Soroca rayon, and Răciula, Călăraşi rayon, Republic of Moldova.³⁸⁷

Chisels. Chisels were made of solid iron rods, rectangular in section, with a flattened end, like the ones found in the settlements at Durlleşti-Valea Babei, Chişinău municipality, Calfa-Cetăţuie, Anenii Noi rayon, Hligeni-La şanţuri, Şoldăneşti rayon, or Răciula, Călăraşi rayon. Their length was generally about 30 cm. For example, in House nr. twenty-two in the settlement at Durlleşti-Valea Babei, Chişinău municipality, Republic of Moldova, an iron chisel with the length of 29.3 cm was discovered.³⁸⁸

Spikes. Spikes are tools with multiple uses that come in the shape of cylindrical rods. Generally, a spike is used to make or widen the holes in boards, in bone, leather, or other materials. Fragments of such objects have been found in the settlement at Măşcăuţi-Livada Boierului, Criuleni rayon, Republic of Moldova.

Besides the occupations related to providing food and constructing dwellings, bonework and hornwork represent, as seen above, one of the standing concerns of community members of the known early medieval settlements in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space. Research on these occupations is lacking and narrow, both in Moldova and in its neighbouring countries. This is explained by the lack of written sources referring to this period and the small numbers of settlements that have been fully investigated. Hence the low interest of researchers and consequently, the small number of studies in this area. Another problem is the need for an analysis of osteological materials from an interdisciplinary perspective that, in the case of archaeologists from the Republic of Moldova, is not so simple to undertake.

At the conclusion of this subject, we can definitely say that a stimulation of interest and collaborations in the domain of research on objects made of bone and horn facilitate both our knowledge of the level of development of the handicraft itself,³⁸⁹ as well as our reconstitution of other occupations in the economy directly related to the objects of this type. All of these, analysed in a complex way, contribute to our knowledge of the level of material and spiritual culture of the population in a certain region and historical period, in our case the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space in the early Middle Ages.

Leather and Fur Processing

Similarly, leather processing has also represented one of the constant interest of human economic endeavour since its invention.³⁹⁰ Thanks to favourable conditions for livestock

385 Dulea, "Consideraţii," 218.

386 Mare, *Banatul*, 58.

387 Vlasenko, "Issledovanija gorodišča," 216, fig. 2.1-5.

388 Tentiuc, *Cercetări arheologice*, 262, fig. 5.

389 A. A. Rusu and F. Mărgineanu, "Prelucrarea osului şi cornului în Transilvania medievală (început de abordare tematică)," *AM* 5 (2005): 141-58.

390 Deselnicu et al., *Istoria prelucrării pieilor*.

breeding and the extensive practice of hunting, the inhabitants of this region came into the possession of large quantities of raw material, stimulating the development of occupations related to processing it. Leather pieces are practically absent in early medieval settlements and the fact that they are quite friable did not allow their conservation and preservation.³⁹¹ The discovery of a fragment of a leather girdle in the cemetery of Noșlac is an exception.³⁹² Osteological material found within the studied settlements, coming from domestic and wild animals, suggests that the skins of slaughtered animals had been used by the people for their various needs. Weather conditions required the people to provide themselves with a certain type of clothing and footwear in the cold season. Leather and fur processing has been demonstrated by the discovery of some polishers made of large animal ribs, which, according to ethnographic data, were used as drawing scrapers. One of the narrow sides of these tools, whose length varied between 10 and 20 cm,³⁹³ was polished to a shine. Similarly, for removing fat from skins, iron knives with slightly curved blades and bent handles, provided at an end with a gripping loop, were used.³⁹⁴ Their length was typically 20 to 22 cm and curved blades with rounded tips were 12 to 15 cm long. This category also includes antler shoulder-blades, of trapezoidal shape,³⁹⁵ and, of course, whetstones.³⁹⁶ Iron and bone needles, which have been found in large amounts in various settlements, were also used during the processing of skins and furs. Iron needles were made of rods, rectangular or circular in section, from 4.8 to 10.0 cm in length. At one end they were sharp, and the other one was provided with a hole. The piece found in Dodești-Călugăreasca, Vaslui county,³⁹⁷ could serve as an example.

An indirect proof of the use of the skins of wild and domestic animals are their osteological remains. Some species of animals, such as fox, beaver, badger, and others, were hunted mainly for their fur.³⁹⁸

Some metal objects, discovered in settlements dating from the eighth–ninth centuries north of the Lower Danube, were elements of some pieces of leather. These include buckles, girdle gaskets, appliques, harness pieces, and so on.

Woodworking

Wood has been widely used in human households since ancient times, especially as the majority of the regions north of the Lower Danube, being covered by large forests, were rich in the raw materials needed. The craft of woodworking has played an important role in people's lives, but the small number of wood products in investigated complexes

391 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 47.

392 Pascu et al., "Dinamica structurilor," 201.

393 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 106, fig. 18/14.

394 Deselnicu et al., 1984, *Istoria prelucrării pieilor*, 85, fig. 88.

395 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 106, fig. 18/17–18; Andronic, "Cultura materială," 242–44.

396 Čebotarenko, *Kalfa*, 58.

397 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 78, fig. 30/5.

398 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 48.

marks this occupation as a modest one. The level of development of this craft can be estimated by examining the traces of constructions built of wood and the metal tools used in woodworking.

One of the important activities within each settlement was the arrangement of residential and household constructions. Building housing constructions was an occupation requiring special knowledge regarding building arrangements: digging pits, treading floors, cutting and fixing the pillars, walls, and roof fittings, and so on. In the early medieval period, most dwellings were built out of wood, as can be seen from the traces of pickets and fragments of carbonized or rotten wood. In some settlements, the walls of dwellings were entirely lined with wooden twigs, beams, and planks, the traces of which can be seen today on the pieces of clay found inside the complexes. Foundation plates to support the walls and the roof were also made of wood, and these traces can also be captured archaeologically.

During the early Middle Ages wood was widely used in planning defence systems within hillforts, in the construction of waves, palisades, bastions, constructions around the defence lines, and so on. I, therefore believe that, in all likelihood, there were inhabitants skilled in the craft of carpentry in every village.

The lack of wooden pieces in our archaeological inventory does not allow us to reconstitute the categories of objects used by the inhabitants of communities north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries. However, some metal objects indicate the use of wooden pieces. An example is presented by iron lugs and wooden bails found in a number of settlements.³⁹⁹ Traces of wooden buckets are known, especially in Avar graves where they discovered iron hoops from such pieces. Buckets had a tapered or a cylindrical shape and were provided with a mobile handle or wooden grip at the top.⁴⁰⁰

Different iron tools were used for processing wood, some of which make substantial contributions to the functionality of a human household, and others being directly related to carpentry. Axes of various shapes and sizes were one of the widely used pieces, used for everything from cutting wood for fires to the construction of dwellings and defensive systems. Some types of axes were used as weapons.⁴⁰¹ Axes have been discovered in the settlements at Bucov, Dăbâca, Fundu Herții,⁴⁰² Ilidia-Săliște,⁴⁰³ and others.

Along with axes, various iron pieces widely used in carpentry have been discovered, such as adzes, chisels, drills, saws, and so on. A chisel with a narrow edge and a tang is part of the depository of tools from Curcani, Călărași county.⁴⁰⁴ Adzes, with a narrow or a wider blade, used for carving and adzing wood, had a length of approximately 9 to 10 cm and were provided with sleeves for placing a wooden handle at the top.⁴⁰⁵ Chisels were

399 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 181–82.

400 Dulea, “Considerații,” 216–17.

401 Teodor, “Topoare medievale.”

402 Petrescu-Dîmboviță and Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații*, 52, fig. 29/3.

403 Mare, *Banatul*, 58.

404 Comșa and Deculescu, “Un depozit,” 469, fig. 2/5.

405 Petrescu-Dîmboviță and Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații*, 52, fig. 29/2,4.

made of a metal bar, approximately 20 cm long, round or square in section, flattened by hitting one end and widened on the other end, had a trapezoidal edge. Chisels were used for splitting, hollowing, holing, and smoothing wood.⁴⁰⁶ Drills are tools used for holing, made of an iron bar with two ears at one end and a spiral peak at the other. Examples of such pieces are discoveries made in Bezid,⁴⁰⁷ Gornea-Zomonite,⁴⁰⁸ Alcedar-Odaia, Rezina rayon, and so on. To cut wood, hand saws with a serrated iron blade on one side were used. Nails and iron staples, found in different settlements, have been extensively used in carpentry.⁴⁰⁹

For cutting, carving, and smoothing small wooden objects, knives were used, a tool with a universal character, found in large numbers in each settlement from the eighth–ninth centuries.⁴¹⁰

The inhabitants of the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic space certainly possessed a variety of wooden objects,⁴¹¹ but because of the perishability of wood they have not been preserved, and this fact means that we cannot fully reconstruct this reality.

Stonework

Stone has occupied an important place in the economy of the inhabitants of the regions north of the Lower Danube since the ancient era. The abundant presence of stone in some regions north of the Lower Danube facilitated the use of this raw material for diverse human needs: construction, sculpture, and others.⁴¹² During the eighth–ninth centuries, stone was mainly used for construction and in the manufacturing of some categories of tools. Stone constructions have not been found dating from the studied period, but stone was used to build the foundations of some dwellings or to arrange ovens and fireplaces. Archaeological research indicates that, for the construction of heating installations, sandy river stone (sandstone) was used in particular, as it allowed a longer retention of heat.

Tools used for stoneworking. The craft of stonework requires not only knowledge of the various qualities of stones, but also the necessary tools to pursue this occupation. Axes were used for cutting and/or carving stone, hammers for crushing it, chisels for hollowing and carving it, pickaxes for the extraction of the stone, metal crowbars for detaching and lifting stone blocks, drills for holing it, and so on.

Stone objects. The category of products made of stone includes grinders, abrasive stones, and whetstones made of local limestone, sandstone, shist, or other stones. Other pieces

406 Petrescu-Dîmbovița and Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații*, 52, fig. 30/1–2; Mare, *Banatul*, 58.

407 Dulea, “Considerații,” 218.

408 Mare, *Banatul*, 58.

409 Mare, *Banatul*, 58.

410 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 64.

411 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 63.

412 Jana Dobre, “Meșteșuguri la Dunărea de Jos (sec. IV–X),” *AD 6* (2000): 81.

are also included here, found in smaller numbers, such as the weights for a weaving loom made of sandstone rock and soft rocks, or moulds (of green, gray, brown shist).

Manual grinders, mostly made of sandstone, are circular with a diameter of 0.40 to 0.50 m, a thickness of approximately 5 to 10 cm, and are provided with an orifice in the middle.

Abrasive stones of hard, sandy stone do not have a constant shape. They were usually made from flat slabs of gray or brown sandstone, or more rarely of green shist or pebbles of hard crystalline rocks. Some of these objects had up to five facets for grinding, created as a result of sharpening objects. Sometimes narrow channels from sharpening needles or metal awls can be seen.⁴¹³ Special stones were used for sharpening bone needles, from which deep furrows without a regular arrangement have been kept.

Whetstones are frequently found during archaeological research. Usually, they were made of stones with a fine structure (green or brown shist). The pieces do not have a standard form, but are usually oblong or rectangular. Whetstones were usually used to sharpen tools to a fine cutting edge. These whetstones of fine sandstone were discovered in Moroda-Săliște, Arad county,⁴¹⁴ Rădulești, Satu Mare county,⁴¹⁵ Păpa-Sub Pădure, Bihor county,⁴¹⁶ Lăpușel-Ciurgău,⁴¹⁷ Nușfălău-Țigoiul lui Benedek, Sălaj county,⁴¹⁸ Popeni-Cuceu,⁴¹⁹ Săcășeni-Fântâna Ciobanului, Satu Mare county,⁴²⁰ Sânnicolau Român-Bereac, Bihor county,⁴²¹ Vladimirescu-La Cetate,⁴²² Comana de Jos-Griul Văcarului, Ieșelnița, Lăpușel-Ciurgău, Mesteacăn-La Parhon, Remetea-Gomila lui Pituț,⁴²³ and so on.

Moulds. Green, gray, and brown shist has been used to make casting moulds for ornaments or pieces of religious significance, such as those seen in the discoveries from Lozna-Străteni, Zăpodia-Movilă, Bacău county,⁴²⁴ Botoșana-Suceava, Dumbrăveni-Sibiu, Olteni-Teleorman, Vădeni-Vaslui, Gura Idrici-Vaslui, and others.⁴²⁵ This category of pieces has been found in a relatively small number of settlements dating from the eighth–ninth centuries north of the Lower Danube.

413 Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, fig. CIX/6, CXII/5, CXVII/2, CXXI/5, CXXIX/16.

414 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 202.

415 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 216, pl. 205/6–7.

416 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 216.

417 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 195–96.

418 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 205.

419 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 215, pl. 194/1 and 194/3.

420 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 220.

421 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 226.

422 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 238, pl. 271/5.

423 Dulea, "Considerații," 247.

424 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 171, no. 773.

425 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 66, fig. 15–16.

Weaving and Tailoring

Spinning, weaving, and tailoring, household occupations practiced especially by women, have been certified in settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries through a series of pieces characteristic of these occupations.⁴²⁶

Wool processing. The large number of bones from domestic animals, especially those of cows and sheep, has been demonstrated within complexes from the eighth–ninth centuries and shows the importance of breeding livestock—not only for food, but also for other products such as skins and wool used for making clothing. One of the occupations of the people from the regions north of the Lower Danube was, therefore, processing wool and vegetable fibres.⁴²⁷ Wool processing is evidenced by the presence of certain categories of objects characteristic of this field. We note, first, that sheep shears have been found in a number of settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries. This type of shearing implement was made from a piece of iron, bent in the middle, so that the two ends, provided with blades, united. The pieces found in Dodești-Călugăreasca, Vaslui county,⁴²⁸ Gornea-Găunița de Sus,⁴²⁹ Popeni-Cuceu,⁴³⁰ was 13 to 15 cm long. Before being spun, the wool was subject to processing, which can be reconstituted on the basis of ethnographic data. Cleaned and carded wool was subsequently spun into fibres. In all likelihood, apart from wool, the inhabitants of the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic space also used plant fibres from hemp, the traces of which have not been preserved. Numerous fragments from reeling devices and weights from weaving looms prove the importance of weaving for the people from the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space in the eighth–ninth centuries.

Spinning was done manually with the help of a spinning fork and spindles, mostly made of wood, which testifies to the reason for their lack of preservation.⁴³¹ The weights from the spindles, known in archaeology as weaving loom weights, have been kept, though, as they made the heads of the spinning spindles heavy, facilitating their constant rotation. This played an important role in the spinning process and in assuring the thickness and the quality of the thread. In the eighth and the ninth centuries, these occur in almost every settlement as well as a cemetery in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space.⁴³² Weaving loom weights were usually made of clay, less often of rock or of fragments of dishes, but we do not exclude the existence of wooden or bone weights. The pieces made of clay had different shapes and sizes, and their colour varied depending on the quality of firing, from black to crimson. Bitronconic, rounded bitronconic, and cylindrical weaving loom

426 Mitrea, “Unele probleme,” 451.

427 Teodor, *Meșteșugurile*, 49–52.

428 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 78, fig. 29/1.

429 Bejan, “Economia satului,” 272.

430 Dulea, “Considerații,” 248.

431 Ovidiu Bozu, “Obiecte creștine inedite de uz casnic. Furcile de tors pentru deget datate în secolele IV–VI e.n.,” *AB 2* (1993): 206–14.

432 Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 81.

weights are characteristic of the eighth–ninth centuries. Some pieces present incized and embossed ornamentation.⁴³³

Reelings of yarn were made with the help of a wooden or horn reeling device. The pieces that have been preserved in the cultural layers from the eighth–ninth centuries were made of antlers, as, for example, was the piece found in Hligeni-*La Șanțuri*.⁴³⁴

Weaving. The discovery of traces of loom pleads for weaving, mostly made of wood, from which only the weights of fired clay and stone, used for stretching yarn, have been preserved until the present. Such weights, used in vertical looms, have been found, for example, in the settlements at Svinia, Morești,⁴³⁵ Moroda-*Săliște*, Arad county,⁴³⁶ and others. In all likelihood, vertical looms were still used in the eighth and ninth centuries, as more certain evidence of horizontal looms exists only in settlements from the tenth–eleventh centuries in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space.⁴³⁷ The practice of weaving at horizontal looms have been demonstrated by shuttles, which were mostly made of wood and reeds—however, only the pieces made of bone have been preserved, such as those from Pohorniceni,⁴³⁸ Rudi,⁴³⁹ Gordinești,⁴⁴⁰ Alcedar, Brănești, Hansca,⁴⁴¹ and others. The appearance of the horizontal loom did not lead to the disappearance of the vertical loom. The concomitant use of both types of looms has been proven by archaeological pieces characteristic of one or another type discovered in early medieval settlements. However, the lack of reliable evidence does not allow us to support claims for the wide use of horizontal looms by the population of the eighth and the ninth centuries. G. B. Fedorov claims that in the Pruto-Dniesterian space the horizontal loom is characteristic of the tenth–eleventh centuries, and V. V. Bejlekči, based on the same archaeological materials, tries to date the appearance of this type of loom since the eighth century, putting it in connection with the Byzantine influences and the Slavs' relations with the Byzantine Empire. At the same time, V. V. Bejlekči does not exclude the spreading of loom through the Bulgarians, who were in a closer relationship with Byzantium. In our view, this opinion must be historically correct, by taking into account the context of political

433 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 53, fig. 47/4, no. 5.

434 Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, fig. CXV/2.

435 Dulea, "Considerații," 216.

436 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 202, pl. 157/2.

437 Gh. Bichir, "Contribuții la cunoașterea țesutului în așezarea de la Garvăn (sec. X–XII)," *SCIV* 9 (1958): 431–42; I. Barnea, "Noi contribuții la cunoașterea țesutului în așezarea de la Gârvan (secolele X–XII)," *SCIV* 12 (1961): 310–11; V. Butură, *Etnografia poporului român* (Cluj-Napoca, 1978), 286–88.

438 Hynku, *Poselenija*, 44, fig. 45/b,6,7 and 49/b,6.

439 Rošal' and Fëdorov, "Žilye i proizvodstvennye," 157.

440 N. P. Tel'nov, "Rannelslavjanskije poselenija Gordinešt' I i Korpač," in *AISPDPM* (Kišinev, 1985): 93.

441 V. V. Bejlekči, "O razvitii ткачества u vostočnoslavjanskogo naselenija Srednego Podnestrov'ja," in *Arheologičeskie issledovanija moldodyh učenyh Moldavii*, ed. V. A. Dergačev (Kišinev, 1990), 58.

changes in the ninth century and the establishment of the Bulgarian Khanate's control over some regions from the north of the Lower Danube.⁴⁴² In a number of settlements, clay pots with traces of fabric printed on the bottom have been discovered. In House nr. two from the settlement at Eperjes-*Csikós tábla*, Csongrád county, Hungary, a fragment of fired clay with printed traces of a piece of cloth was discovered.⁴⁴³ Such findings prove the presence of some fabrics made of thicker and thinner fibres, but only on this basis, it is impossible to establish what kind of loom they were made on.⁴⁴⁴

Tailoring. Scissors, needles, needle cases, thimbles, and such instruments are characteristic of tailoring, and some of them have been discovered in settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space. In a number of residential constructions and annexes, iron and bone needles have been found, and these were certainly used in tailoring. One of their ends was well sharpened and the other one was slightly flattened and provided with an elongated hole. These were kept in special cases made of bone.

Economic Exchange

Demographic growth, attested in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space, spurred economic development in the region during the eighth–ninth centuries. The rural agricultural character of the community, together with the practice of crafts, led to an intensification of exchange, most likely mainly based on barter. Archaeological data relating to trade between the regions north of the Lower Danube with other European regions, including Byzantium, are quite modest. Byzantine imports in the eighth–ninth centuries were quite reduced compared to those of the previous centuries. In all likelihood, the causes of this phenomenon were the strengthening the Slavo-Bulgarian state south of the Danube and the economic, political, and religious crisis that the Byzantine Empire faced in that period, which it resolved only in the ninth century. Thus, the direct links between the communities north of the Danube and those of the Byzantine Empire were broken for a period of time.⁴⁴⁵ The situation was gradually restored, however, as illustrated by the increased Byzantine imports beginning in the tenth century.

Extraction and Marketing of Salt

Natural resources had made the Carpathian-Danubian regions attractive since ancient times and the early Middle Ages were not an exception in this regard. The goodness of the lands here was described in *Gesta Hungarorum: Quod terra illa irigaretur optimis fluuiis, quorum nomina et utilitates seriatim dixit. Et quod in arenis eorum aurum colligerent, et aurum terre illius optimum esset. Et ut ibi foderetur sal et salgenia ...* (And

⁴⁴² Fëdorov, "Drevnerusskaja kul'tura," 122; Bejlekči, "O razvitii tkačestva," 59.

⁴⁴³ Bálint, *Die spätavarenzeitliche*," 16, pl. 5/b.

⁴⁴⁴ Bejlekči, "O razvitii tkačestva," 58.

⁴⁴⁵ G. Custurea, *Circulația monedei bizantine în Dobrogea (sec. IX–XI)* (Constanța, 2000), 67.

those lands were watered by best rivers, the names and benefits of which have been regularly mentioned. And in the sands of those [rivers] gold flows, and the gold of that land was the best. And that there is salt and salty matters extracted.)⁴⁴⁶ The Hungarian notary mentions not only the fertility of the earth, but also the richness of its underground resources, for which many peoples had fought over the centuries. In the Middle Ages the deposits of gold, silver, and salt in the Carpathians had been a matter of political debate and military conflict to establish control over the extraction and marketing of such resources. The written sources and archaeological evidence in the regions north of the Lower Danube demonstrate this fact. Thus, in the following lines, we will focus on some aspects of the numismatic situation and the salt trade in the eighth–ninth centuries in the regions north of the Lower Danube.⁴⁴⁷

Salt has always been a vital element in the diets of both people and animals.⁴⁴⁸ Since the Neolithic period, when man first began to boil food, the need to add salt to the food appeared and thus man was impelled to seek sources of salt.⁴⁴⁹ The inhabitants of the areas with salt deposits, both solid and liquid, turned salt mining and salt trading into a permanent occupation.⁴⁵⁰

446 *Gesta Hungarorum*, XXV. A. Madgearu, “Organizarea bisericească la Dunărea de Jos în perioada 971–1020,” *SMIM* 19 (2001), 9–20; A. Madgearu, *The Romanians in the Anonymous Gesta Hungarorum. Truth and Fiction* (Cluj-Napoca, 2005).

447 Although several studies on trade in salt have appeared in the recent years, we consider it appropriate to return to this topic with some embodiments on the place and the role of the coins attested in Transylvania and salt trade in the eighth–ninth centuries (D. Ciobanu, *Exploatarea sării în perioada marilor migrații (sec. I–XIII e.n.) în spațiul carpato-dunărean* (Buzău, 2002)); Ciobanu, “Exploatarea sării în perioada marilor migrații (sec. I–XIII e.n.) în spațiul carpato-dunărean, rezumat,” *Mousaios* 8 (2003): 117–32; A. Madgearu, “Salt Trade and Warfare in Early Medieval Transylvania,” *EN* 11 (2001): 271–83; Madgearu, “Transylvania and the Bulgarian Expansion in the 9th and 10th centuries,” *AMN* 39–40 (2002–2003): 41–62; Madgearu, “Salt Trade and Warfare: the Rise of the Romanian-Slavic Military Organization in Early Medieval Transylvania,” in *East Central & Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Fl. Curta (University of Michigan Press, 2005), 103–20; Rustoiu, “Exploatarea sării și habitatul uman”; A.-M. Velter, “Some Remarks Concerning the Exploration and Trading of Salt in Transylvania During the 11th–13th Centuries,” *CN* 12–13 (2006–2007): 209–28.

448 Contemporary calculations showed the daily requirement for different species of animals: bovine cattle—25–30 g, horses—20–40 g, ovine cattle—5–15 g, porcines—5–10 g (D. Ciobanu, “Rolul zăcămintelor de sare în istoria politică militară a spațiului carpato-dunărean (secolele I–XIII d. Hr.),” *Mousaios* 6 (2001): 100; Ciobanu, *Exploatarea sării*, 56; Rustoiu, “Exploatarea sării și habitatul uman,” 271).

449 J. Fries-Knoblach, “Siedlungslandschaft und Salz. Zu Anpassungen und Auswirkungen einer vorgeschichtlichen Technologie in Mittel- und Westeuropa,” in *Archäologische Forschungen in Urgeschichtlichen Siedlungslandschaften. Festschrift für Georg Kossak zum 75 Geburtstag*, H. Küster and A. Lang, eds., Schauer (Bonn, 1998); V. Cavruc and A. Chiricescu, eds., *Sarea, Timpul și Omul*, Catalog de expoziție (Sfîntu Gheorghe, 2006).

450 R. Slotta, V. Wollmann, and I. Dordea, eds., *Silber und Salz in Sibenbürgen. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum vom 27. Oktober 2002 bis zum 30. März 2003* (Bochum, 2001).

In the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space, more than 200 massive salt deposits have been found,⁴⁵¹ out of which the most important are the deposits located in the intracarpathian space, Maramureș, and in Transylvania. In the Depression of Transylvania three groupings of deposits stand out: on the west side there are Dej, Someșeni, Cojocna, Turda, Ocna Mureșului, and Ocna Sibiului; on the south side there are Brad, Avrig, Sărata, and Peșani; and on the east side there are Mercheașa, Corund, Praid, Sovata, and Gurghiu.⁴⁵² At the same time, there are a number of salt-water lakes and salt marshes in the Danubian-Carpathian area, such as those on the Black Sea coast or the steppe lakes in the areas of Brăila and Ialomița.

In the areas where rock salt was missing, people sought to obtain salt from seawater. Salt could be extracted from brine via evaporation. The salt from sea water or the salt lakes was obtained by boiling water in large pots. Then the wet salt was put in small pots and dried, in the sun in summer and on a fireplace in the colder seasons. Salt obtained through evaporation had a higher degree of purity than mineral salt. We can, therefore, see that salt mining is a very old occupation⁴⁵³ with a wide reach in the ancient⁴⁵⁴ and medieval⁴⁵⁵ eras. The recent contributions by D. Ciobanu,⁴⁵⁶ A. Madgearu,⁴⁵⁷ and G. T. Rustoiu,⁴⁵⁸ and A.-M. Velter⁴⁵⁹ have been outstanding for the research of the development of this economic occupation north of the Lower Danube during the ancient and early medieval periods.

451 V. Spinei, *Ultimele valuri migratoare de la nordul Mării Negre și Dunării de Jos* (Iași, 1996), 8; Spinei, *Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX–XIII* (Iași, 1999); Ciobanu, “Rolul zăcămintelor de sare,” 99; Olteanu et al., “Structuri economice,” 54.

452 Rustoiu, “Exploatarea sării și habitatul uman,” 270.

453 Nicolae Ursulescu, “Exploatarea sării din saramură în neoliticul timpuriu,” in lumina descoperirilor de la Solca (jud. Suceava), *SCIVA* 28 (1977): 307–17.

454 Wollmann, *Mineritul metalifer*; A. Gligor, “Scurte considerații privind exploatarea sării în Dacia Romană (cu referire la salinifere),” *Corviniana* 6 (2000): 123–25.

455 A. Berciu-Drăghicescu, “Aspecte ale exploatării sării și a comerțului cu sare în Țara Românească în secolele XIV–XVI,” *Litua* 2 (1982): 87–93.

456 D. Ciobanu, “Exploatarea sării și a apelor sărate pe teritoriul carpato-dunărean în secolele I–XIII,” *Mousaios* 5 (1997): 161–80; Ciobanu, “Rolul zăcămintelor de sare”; Ciobanu, “Metode și unelte folosite în extragerea sării în spațiul carpato-dunărean în sec. I–XIII,” *Mousaios* 7 (2001): 27–50; Ciobanu, “Probleme generale privind exploatarea sării în spațiul carpato-dunărean în mileniul I,” *Angustia* 7 (2002): 303–10; Ciobanu, “Tehnici, metode și unelte folosite în extragerea sării în mileniul I d. Hr. și în prima parte a mileniului II,” in *Cercetare și Istorie într-un nou mileniu, Lucrările simpozionului național, Galați, 3–6 mai 2001* (Galați, 2002), 80–98; Ciobanu, *Exploatarea sării*; Ciobanu, “Sarea–aliment și sursă de venituri pentru locuitorii din nord-estul Munteniei,” *Carpica* 31 (2002): 19–28; Ciobanu, “The role of salt deposits in the political-military history of the carpatho-danubian space in the I–XIII centuries,” *SAA* 9 (2003): 429–46; Ciobanu, “Exploatarea sării.”

457 Madgearu, “Salt Trade,” 271.

458 Rustoiu, “Exploatarea sării.”

459 Velter, “Some Remarks Concerning.”

Rock salt was acquired by extracting salt lumps out of the banks or by digging galleries and fountains. The salt trade was undertaken in several ways. One could use floats on the main water thoroughfares in Transylvania, Mureș, and Someș, or use carts and workhorses on land, along the Someș Mic Valley, the Crișul Repede and the gates Meses, along the Crasnei Valley toward Sărmășag or to Marca, down the Barcăului Valley through Șimleul-Silvaniei.⁴⁶⁰ The concentration of ancient and early medieval settlements in areas with salt deposits and along these trade routes reflects the importance of this occupation in different historical periods. The attestation of settlements and cemeteries from the eighth–ninth centuries near the saline lakes or massive salt mines at Cojocna, Ocna Dejului, Sic, Turda (Cluj county), Ocnișoara, Uioara-Ocna Mureșului (Alba county), Ocna Sibiului (Sibiu county), Ocna de Sus, Ocland, Praid (Harghita county), Ocnița (Bistrița-Năsăud county), Sovata (Mureș county), Ocnele Mari (Vâlcea county), Slănic (Prahova county), and so on demonstrates the direct interest of various populations in these deposits.⁴⁶¹

The lack of salt deposits on the Balkan peninsula and the Pannonian Plain made the peoples of these regions fight often not only to control the access routes to these resources, but also for access to European salt markets. Thus, in the Middle Ages salt had become a resource of strategic interest.⁴⁶²

The Avar Kaganate sought to master the regions east of the Tisza as well, being certainly interested in the riches of the region.⁴⁶³ The existence of an Avar centre at Aiud, dating from the early eighth century, has a direct link with operational control of the salt deposits and trade down the Valley of Mureș.⁴⁶⁴ Thus, some Avar discoveries in the area of the Middle Mureș at Gâmbaș, Lopadea Nouă, Aiud, Teiuș (Alba county), and elsewhere suggest the control established by the Avars over the saline lakes in this area and over the commercial road of the Mureș Valley, connecting with Pannonia.⁴⁶⁵ At the same time, the discovery of numerous settlements and cemeteries in the areas with salt deposits speaks to the wide exploitation of this mineral in the eighth century during the rule of the Avars.⁴⁶⁶

460 Rustoiu, “Exploatarea sării,” 274.

461 M. Rusu, “Avars, Slavs, Romanic Population in the 6th–8th Centuries,” in *Relations between the Autochthonous Population and the Migratory Populations on the Territory of Romania* (București, 1975), 146, fig. 4; Olteanu et al., “Structuri economice,” 54; Madgearu, “Salt Trade,” 271.

462 Madgearu, “Salt Trade,” 271; Madgearu, “Salt Trade and Warfare,” 103.

463 Madgearu, “Salt Trade,” 273, fig. 2; I. Stanciu, *Locuirea teritoriului nord-vestic al României între antichitatea târzie și perioada de început a epocii medievale timpurii (mijlocul sec. V–sec. VII timpuriu)* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Academia Română, Editura MEGA, 2011), 79–89.

464 Horedt, *Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei*, 98.

465 P. Iambor, “Drumuri și vămi ale sării din Transilvania în perioada feudalismului timpuriu,” *AMN* 19 (1982): 75; Madgearu, “Salt Trade,” 272. Much disputed treasure from Sînnicolau Mare may be also placed in connection with the Avar domination in the region. Rusu, “Tezaurul de la Sînnicolau Mare.”

466 I draw attention to the discoveries from the group Mediaș. Madgearu, “Salt Trade,” 275, fig. 4.

The presence of the Bulgarians north of the Danube is also linked to the control of salt trade from Transylvania to Banat toward the regions of Central and Southeastern Europe. The Bulgarians' interest in these regions was twofold; first, the lack of salt deposits south of the river, and second, their strategic and economic importance for the salt trade in Europe. After the liquidation of the Avar Kaganate, the Bulgarians took control over some areas north of the Danube, including the areas with salt deposits. In this context, we ought recall a German-Moravian conflict in the late ninth century, when the German King Arnulf of Bavaria, being in conflict with the Moravian King Sviatopluk, was forced to use the services of the Bulgarian ruler Vladimir by surreptitiously sending him a message in 892 asking him not to sell salt to the Moravians.⁴⁶⁷ Because of the lack of this mineral in the areas controlled by the Moravians in the ninth century, they were forced to buy it from sources in the intracarpathian regions.⁴⁶⁸ Thus, during the ninth century, the trade in salt from Transylvania towards the central and western regions of Europe was mostly controlled by the Bulgarians.⁴⁶⁹

The Hungarians, once settled in Pannonia, also coveted the salt deposits of Transylvania. This fact had been proved during the tenth century, and, in particular, since the eleventh century, when the Hungarians established effective control over these territories.⁴⁷⁰ Salt and gold mines (among others) had thus become part of the system of royal monopolies (*regalia*) constituting a quite considerable series of exclusive revenues for the king. The king's interest in this field was also manifested by the establishment of facilities for workers in the mines of Transylvania to protect the local nobles.⁴⁷¹ Thus, salt extraction became a matter of not only economic, but also of political and even religious interest during the Middle Ages, with the Church being more interested in the donations from the king resulting from the extraction and sale of salt and customs duties than in those from the Christians of these regions, as it is well shown in documents from the eleventh–thirteenth centuries. The Mureș and the Someș became the main arteries of the salt trade and its transportation.⁴⁷² Increasing economic development in the regions near the middle Mureș, the Someș, and the Crișul Repede has, therefore, a direct link with the extraction and marketing of salt. The Mureș River assured a direct link between

467 It is mentioned in *Annales Fuldenses* that, for fear of the Moravians, King Arnulf sent delegates surreptitiously and only by water to the Bulgarian Khan Vladimir in order to renew the peace and alliance between the two against the common enemy (*Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*).

468 In the current Austrian regions salt deposits have been attested in Ebensee, Aussee, Ischl, Hallstatt, and in Slovakia only in Prešov (M. Treml, R. Riepertinher, and E. Brockhoff, ed., *Salz macht Geschichte. Katalog* (Augsburg: Haus der Bayrischen Geschichte, 1995), with the map of salt deposits spreading in central and Western Europe).

469 Madgearu, "Salt Trade," 276.

470 Madgearu, "Salt Trade," 272.

471 Iambor, "Drumuri și vămi," 76.

472 G. Kovách, "Date cu privire la transportul sării pe Mureș în secolele X–XIII," *Ziridava* 12 (1980): 193.

the centres of extraction and the marketing regions. From the salt centres of Uioara, Ocnișoara, Turda, Cojocna, Rona, and Șugatag, through the gates of Vințul de Sus, Partoș-Alba Iulia, Lipova, Bistra, Arad, Igrîș, Cenad, Seghedin, and so on, the salt was further transported on either the Tisza, or by land to the regions of Central and Southeastern Europe. From the place where the Mures discharges its waters into the Tisza the salt was brought by water until the Danube, where, on the left bank of the river, a salt deposit from *Slankamen* was located.⁴⁷³ The river Someș was also a commercial artery that assured the connection to Ocna Dejului, Sic prin Satu Mare by the Tisza and then descended through Tolaj and Szolnok down the river Tisza. Apart from the waterways, salt was also transported overland. One of these roads connecting Transylvania with Western Europe passed through the Gates of the Meseș. Carts with salt left Cojocna through Cluj, Creaca, and entered through the Gates of Meseș, supervised by the fortresses of Moigrad and Ortelec, continuing their way through Zalău, Crasna, Zăuan, Șimleu, Măierîște, Zalnoc, Supuru de Sus, and Tașnăd before reaching Sălacea. From Dej the salt was transported overland through Var, Jibou, Mirșid, and the Gates of Meseș. Another overland route went through the valley of the Crișul Repede, thus assuring the connection between Transylvania and Bihor, with customs in Birtin.⁴⁷⁴

The concentration of Byzantine products in the region of Szeged and at the confluence of the Mureș and the Tisza, and thus a somewhat sporadic appearance of its coins here, was not random, but fell within the context of political control over the salt trade in the region.⁴⁷⁵ The presence of ornamental objects in tombs from the areas where salt was extracted, transported, and marketed proves that they were the subject of exchange.

From the above, we can conclude that, in the early Middle Ages, the salt from the areas north of the Lower Danube ensured the needs of peoples across Central and Southeastern Europe, the fact of which made the control of the salt trade an eternal source of political and military disputes over this period. The areas with salt deposits in Transylvania were first controlled by the Gepidae, then, in the seventh–eighth centuries, were dominated by the Avars. These areas were then dominated by the Bulgarians in the late ninth century and, during the tenth–eleventh centuries, gradually passed into the possession of the Hungarians. The statement *Salz macht Geschichte* thus fully applies to Transylvania.⁴⁷⁶

The use of coins in salt trading has not been confirmed by monetary discoveries in the regions where the salt was extracted or along the Mureș and the Tisza where this product was transported. The Byzantine coin arrived occasionally in Transylvania in the eighth–ninth centuries in most cases as a result of payments made to allies or of robberies undertaken by invaders (the Avars, the Slavs, the Bulgarians, or the Hungarians). In all likelihood, trade relations in that period were mostly based on barter, specifically for

473 Iambor, “Drumuri și vămi,” 75 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 229.

474 Iambor, “Drumuri și vămi,” 83.

475 P. Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans 900–1204* (Cambridge, 2000), 43, Map 1:3.

476 *Salz macht Geschichte* is the title of a work that reflects the importance of this ore for the German territories. Tremel et al., *Salz macht Geschichte*.

those communities with a predominantly agricultural economy,⁴⁷⁷ the more so since in the eighth–ninth centuries an intense process of ruralization in the Byzantine society and economy has been demonstrated, with a direct impact on domestic and foreign markets.⁴⁷⁸ A proof, in this respect, is the various types of the pieces of clothing and jewellery discovered in the cemeteries north of the Lower Danube,⁴⁷⁹ representing valuable pieces used, in all likelihood, in exchange relations or brought by migrant communities. The statement *the coin with no trade and the trade with no coin* reflects, therefore, a reality characteristic of early medieval communities in the Carpathian Basin.⁴⁸⁰ In the following centuries, the situation changes, as attested to by both an increase in the number of coins and of the pieces of ornamentation in the regions where the salt was extracted, transported, and marketed. At the same time, a number of written documents reporting on transactions over salt and the income from this trade has appeared, reflecting the momentum of salt trade from Transylvania to the other parts of Europe and the share of coin from exchange relations.⁴⁸¹

The Coins with No Trade vs. The Trade with No Coins

The Byzantine Coins The presence of coins north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries has held the attention of researchers in only small measure, which situation may be explained by the small number of the discovered coins. This fact is termed in the literature as a “time without coins,” “the period of interruption in the circulation of Byzantine coins,” or “a hiatus in monetary circulation.”⁴⁸² Monetary transmission, especially that of Byzantine coins, has been the subject of several

477 Trade relations since the beginning of the eighth century between Byzantium and Bulgaria had been governed by the treaty of 716, but the character of exchange was of natural order, having been kept until the tenth century, as mentioned in the *Book of Eparch* (IX, 6).

478 E. E. Lipšic, “K voprosu o gorode v Vizantii VIII–IX vv.,” *VV* 6 (1953); Lipšic, *Ekloga. Vizantijskij zakonodatel'nyj svod VIII veka* (Moskva, 1965); A. P. Každan, “Vizantijskie goroda v VII–XI vv.,” *SA* 21 (1954); Každan, “Derevnja i gorod v Vizantii IX–X vv.,” in *Očerki po istorii vizantijskogo feodalizma* (Moskva, 1960), 224–32; G. Ostrogorsky, “Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages,” *DOP* 12 (1959); E. Frančes, “La ville byzantine et la monnaie aux VII^e–VIII^e siècles, contribution au problème de la crise de la ville byzantine,” *Byzantinobulgarica* 2 (1966); M. Ja. Sjuzdumov, “Vizantijskij gorod (seredina VII–seredina IX v.),” *VV* 27 (1967).

479 Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*.

480 V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliiba, “Comerț fără monedă și monedă fără comerț în Dacia preromană,” *CN* 9–11 (2003–2005): 99–103.

481 Kovách, “Date cu privire la transportul sării,” 195–98; Iambor, “Drumuri și vămi,” 76–79; C. Măluțan, “Drumurile sării din nord-vestul Transilvaniei medievale,” *AMP* 8 (1984): 251; Madgearu, “Salt Trade,” 280; Madgearu, “Salt Trade and Warfare”; Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, 44; Velter, “Some Remarks Concerning.”

482 I. Dimian, “Cîteva descoperiri monetare bizantine pe teritoriul R.P.R.,” *SCN* 1 (1957): 204; V. V. Kropotkin, *Ekonomičeskie svjazi Vostočnoj Evropy v I tys. n.é.* (Moskva, 1967); O. Toropu and O. Stoica, “Monede bizantine descoperite în Oltenia,” *Drobeta* 1 (1974): 160; A. A. Nudel'man, *Očerki istorii monetnogo obraščeniia v Dnestrovsko-Prutskom regione* (Kišinev, 1985), 71, 77.

works.⁴⁸³ In recent years scholars have tried to analyse the numismatic situation north of the Lower Danube in the early Middle Ages, including references to the eighth–ninth centuries.⁴⁸⁴ Compared to the fifth–seventh centuries, the numismatic findings of the eighth–ninth centuries are much reduced, with growth being first registered during the tenth–eleventh centuries.⁴⁸⁵ The coins came, in most cases, either from isolated discoveries or tombs, and only in three cases, as the latter ones date from the tenth

483 Preda, “Circulația monedelor”; Gh. Poenaru Bordea and Corneliu Popa, “Noi date numismatice privind prezențele bizantine în Câmpia Română în sec. IX–XI,” in *Ilfov–file de istorie* (București, 1978), 135–41; V. Butnariu, “O nouă monedă bizantină de la Gugești (județul Vaslui),” *CI* 11–12 (1981–1982): 169–70.

484 A.-M. Velter, “Unele considerații privind circulația monetară din sec. V–XII în bazinul carpatic (cu specială privire asupra teritoriului țării noastre),” *SCIV* 39 (1988): 251–74; Velter, *Transilvania în secolele V–XII. Interpretări istorico-politice și economice pe baza descoperirilor monetare din bazinul Carpatic, secolele V–XII* (București, 2002); S. Langu, “Fenomenul tezaurizării în sec. al VIII-lea–al XIV-lea în spațiul extracarpatic,” *Danubius* 21 (2003): 25–46; Langu, “Aspecte ale circulației monetare între anii 700–971 la sud și est de Carpați,” *Danubius* 23 (2005): 43–55.

485 See for comparison the studies by G. B. Fëdorov, “Rimskie i rannevizantijskie monety na territorii Moldavskoj SSR,” in *Omagiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu cu prilejul împlinirii a 60 de ani* (București, 1960), 179–91; Preda, “Circulația monedelor”; 1973; Toropu and Stoica, “Monede bizantine”; Nudel’man, *Topografija kladov*; Nudel’man, *Očerki istorii*; V. M. Butnariu, “Răspîndirea monedelor bizantine din secolele VI–VII în teritoriile carpato-dunărene,” *BSNR* 131–133 (1983–1985) (1986): 199–235; Butnariu, “Monedele romane postareliene în teritoriile carpato-dunăreanopontice (anii 275–491). I. Perioada 275–324,” *AM* 11 (1987): 113–40; Butnariu, “Monedele romane postareliene în teritoriile carpato-dunăreanopontice (anii 275–491). II. Perioada 324–383,” *AM* 12 (1988): 131–96; Butnariu, “Monedele romane postareliene în teritoriile carpato-dunăreanopontice (anii 275–491). III. Perioada 383–491,” *AM* 14 (1991): 67–107; Butnariu, “Descoperiri monetare în spațiul carpato-nistean în sec. IV–VII. Structuri și semnificații,” in *Spațiul Nord-Est Carpatic în mileniul întunecat*, ed. V. Spinei (Iași, 1997), 59–66; D. Ionescu, “Circulația monedei bizantine în Oltenia, Muntenia și Dobrogea în secolele VI–VII,” *Litua* 4 (1988): 30–43; C. Chiriac, “Despre tezaurele monetare bizantine din secolele VII–X la est și sud de Carpați,” *Pontica* 24 (1991): 373–78; Chiriac, *Civilizația bizantină*, 136–40; E. S. Stoljarik, *Očerki monetnogo obraščeniia Severo-Zapadnogo Pričernomor’ja v pozdnerimskoe i vizantijskoe vremja (konec III-načalo XIII v.)* (Kiev, 1992); Stoljarik, *Essay on Monetary Circulation in the North-western Black Sea Region* (Odessa, 1993); Corman, *Contribuții*, 98–99; E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, “Societate, economie și politică–populațiile de pe teritoriul Moldovei și lumea sud-est Europeană în secolele IV–XIV în lumina descoperirilor monetare,” *Suceava* 26–27–28 (1999–2000–2001, 2001): 311–55; Oberländer-Târnoveanu, “From the Late Antiquity to Early Middle Ages—The Byzantine Coins in Territories of the Iron Gates of Danube. From the Second Half of the 6th Century to the First Half of the 8th Century,” *EBPB* 4 (2001): 29–70; Velter, “Unele considerații”; Velter, *Transilvania*; Monica Gogu, “Monedele bizantine aflate în colecția numismatică a Muzeului Național al Bucovinei din Suceava,” *Suceava* 26–27–28 (1999–2000–2001, 2001): 283–310; O. Dulea, “Considerații privind locuirea în Banat și Transilvania în secolele VII–VIII p.Chr (III. Monede și descoperiri izolate,” *AB* 10–11 (2002–2003): 245–66; Marcin Wołoszyn, “Monety bizantyńskie z VI–VII w. W Polsce na tle środkowoeuropejskim,” in *Archeologia o początkach Słowian*, ed. P. Kaczanowski and M. Parczewski (Kraków, 2005), 637–80.

century. Obviously, the phenomenon of coin hoarding is, therefore, characteristic of the eighth–ninth centuries.⁴⁸⁶ Thus, based on numismatic data published so far, 189 coins have been found in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space, out of which 145 are single discoveries and forty-four are part of thesauri from Cleja,⁴⁸⁷ Răducăneni,⁴⁸⁸ and Alcedar.⁴⁸⁹ There are three types of coins, distinguished by their origin: 117 Byzantine coins, fifty-one early Islamic (Arab and Persian), and twenty-one West European coins (Table 6, Chart 4, Map 7).

The diffusion of Byzantine coins outside of the Empire's borders is an important issue in contemporary historical and numismatic research. Obviously, its presence in the territories that were not part of Byzantium contributes to our knowledge of the relations of this state with other peoples. In the eighth–ninth centuries, the political and military situation in the Empire degenerated into a serious economic, political, social, cultural, and religious crisis. The loss of territories and sales markets resulted in the closure of mints and thus in the reduction of monetary circulation in the Byzantine market. The impact of this crisis was manifested by the lowering of the general economic level of the Empire and the ruralization of many cities.⁴⁹⁰ All of the above-mentioned issues caused a reduction in Byzantium's interest in certain territories outside its borders, which also included the Danubian regions, previously part of the Empire or its areas of strategic interest.

However, during the crisis, the Empire managed to maintain contact with some regions of the Black Sea through its commercial and military fleet. Proof of this are the events related to the repatriation of the Adrianopolitans in 837 and the passage of the Hungarians across the Danube in 895, an action also performed by the fleet.⁴⁹¹ The Byzantine return to the

486 Langu, "Fenomenul tezaurizării"; Langu, "Aspecte," 44.

487 Preda, "Circulația monedelor," 399; I. Mitrea, "Influențe bizantine în cultura materială și spirituală din regiunea subcarpatică a Moldovei în sec. VI–IX," *SCIVA* 30 (1979): 148; Mitrea, *Din arheologia*, 64–84; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 68, no. 181; Langu, "Fenomenul tezaurizării," 25–26.

488 Preda, "Circulația monedelor," 399; Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 78–80; Mitrea, "Influențe bizantine," 148; Butnariu, "O nouă monedă," 169; Spinei, *Realități etnice*, 133; Langu, "Fenomenul tezaurizării," 25–26; Langu, "Aspecte," 50.

489 Fëdorov, "Gorodišče Ekimaucy," 110; Nudel'man, *Topografija kladov*, 89–90.

490 Každan, "Vizantijskie goroda," 164–88; Ostrogorsky, "Byzantine Cities," 45–66; Frančes, "La ville byzantine," 3–14; Sjuzumov, "Vizantijskij gorod," 38–70; M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300–1450* (Cambridge, 1985), the situation with the cities from the Balkans, 78–85, Map 15; R. Ivanov, *Rimski i rannovizantijski gradove v Bulgaria*, in *Studies in Memory of Prof. Teofil Ivanov*, 1 (Sofia, 2002–2003); Jacques Lefort, "The Rural Economy, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries," in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 39, 2002), 231–314; A. I. Romančuk, "K voprosu ob ispol'zovanii numizmatičeskich dannych pri izučenii vizantijskogo goroda perioda 'temnyh vekov,'" in *Mir Aleksandra Každana: k 80-letiju so dnja roždenija* (S. Peterburg, 2003), 132–37.

491 Leo Grammaticus, *Cronografia, FHDR 2*, 651–52; Simeon Magister, *Cronografia, FHDR 2*, 631.

Lower Danube can be discussed only in reference to the late tenth century, after the efforts of the emperors Ioan Tzimiskes (969–976) and Basil II (976–1025), when Byzantium restored its control over some Danubian regions. In 971 the Byzantines penetrated onto the territory of the Bulgarian state, occupied Pereslav, and then followed the Prince of Kyiv up to Silistra. The siege lasted three months, after which Sviatoslav was forced to accept the conditions of peace demanded by the Byzantines and the Bulgarian Khan Boris II abdicated and was brought to Constantinople. As a result of this war, John Tzimiskes annexed a large part of the Bulgarian state.⁴⁹² The return of Byzantium to the Lower Danube in the late tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh century meant restoring ties with the inhabitants of these areas, which, during the seventh–tenth centuries, had undergone a series of ethnic and cultural transformations.

Based on numismatic data published so far, a sample of 117 Byzantine coins from the eighth–ninth centuries have been found in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space, out of which ninety-two were single discoveries, and twenty-five are part of the hoard at Cleja (Table 6, Chart 4, Map 7).⁴⁹³ Apart from Byzantine coins, the eighth–tenth centuries are represented by isolated coins and hoards of Arab⁴⁹⁴ and Western European⁴⁹⁵ coins in the northern regions of the Lower Danube (Map 7). Out of total number of ninety-two registered coins, in forty-one cases the place of discovery is unknown and fifty-one pieces constitute isolated discoveries, out of which forty-two were random and only nine pieces were located in a clear archaeological context. Out of all the pieces discovered in archaeological complexes, seven coins come from graves Csongrád-Vendelhalom, Csongrád county, Hungary;⁴⁹⁶ Csanytelek-Síróhegy, Csongrád county, Hungary;⁴⁹⁷

492 V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, “Les frontières occidentales des territoires conquis par Tzimiscès,” *Studia Balcanica* 10, *Recherches de géographie historique*, (Sofia, 1975), 118; O. Damian, *Bizanțul la Dunărea de Jos (secolele VII–X)* (Brăila: Editra ISTROS, 2015), 215–34.

493 Out of 39 numismatic pieces of the hoard from Cleja, 25 coins are from the Byzantine Emperors of the ninth century and the rest of the tenth century. Preda, “Circulația monedelor,” 399; Mitrea, “Influențe bizantine,” 148. The hoard from Cleja falls into the context of the Petcheneg tribes moving westward by the mid-tenth century from the north-Pontic regions, which had a devastating impact on the communities from the east of the Carpathians. In all probability, the hoards (containing Cufic coins, silver ingots, objects of adornment and clothing) from Răducăneni and Echimaui were hidden in this period. Dimian, “Cîteva descoperiri,” 199; G. Custurea, “Schimburile economice în regiunea danubiano-pontică în secolele VII–XI,” *Pontica* 24 (1991): 388.

494 See the details on the Islamic coin’s spreading in the north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–tenth centuries in the article by L. Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen im Ungarn des 10. Jahrhunderts,” *AAH* 35 (1983): 133–54; R. A. Rabinovič, “Dirhemy na territorii Moldovy: kul’turno-istoričeskij kontekst,” *Stratum plus. Vremja deneg* 6 (1999): 262–74; Velter, *Transilvania*; S. Musteață, “Răspândirea monedei islamice timpurii la nordul Dunării de Jos în sec. VIII–X,” in *Monedă și comerț în sud-estul Europei I*, Bibliotheca Bruckenthal 9 (Sibiu, 2007): 165–82.

495 Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen”; Velter, “Unele considerații”; Velter, *Transilvania*, 132–53.

496 Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 136, no. 8; 1989, 24, no. 67, pl. III; Velter, *Transilvania*, 303, no. CXXVIX/209.

497 Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 136, no. 7; 1989, 23, no. 63; Velter, “Unele considerații,” 263, no. 17; 2002, 303, no. CXXVI/205.

Deta, Timiș county, România;⁴⁹⁸ Hunedoara (Vajdahunyad-Kincseshegy), Hunedoara county, Romania;⁴⁹⁹ Jánoshalma-Kisráta, Bács-Kiskun county;⁵⁰⁰ Tiszaeszlár-Bashalom-Fenyvstábla, Szabolcs-Szatmár county, Hungary;⁵⁰¹ Üllő-Ilona utca, Pest county, Ungaria;⁵⁰² (Map 7), a coin was discovered in a small well at the level of *Dridu* housing in a settlement at Șirna, Prahova county, Romania,⁵⁰³ and the last one, a *follis* from the reign of Emperor Justinian II (705–711), is an isolated occurrence, which came to the light after investigations of the foundations of the National Theatre of Bucharest.⁵⁰⁴ Thus, out of the nine coins documented on archaeological sites, seven pieces were discovered in closed complexes within cemeteries chronologically assigned to the tenth–eleventh centuries. Six coins are holed and served as jewellery or clothing decorations.⁵⁰⁵

Some coins discovered in tombs had a ritual significance and were used as ritual goods or *obol*. For example, in the cemetery at Deta, Timiș county, a Byzantine coin from the reign of Leon VI (886–912) was found in the mouth of a decedent.⁵⁰⁶ Putting coins in

498 I. Sabău, “Circulația monetară în Transilvania secolelor XI–XIII în lumina izvoarelor numismatice,” in *SCN* 2 (1958): 288; Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 136, no. 9; Velter, “Unele considerații,” 265, no. 23; L. Kovács, *Münzen aus der ungarischen Landnahmenzeit. Archäologische Untersuchung der arabischen, byzantinischen, westeuropäischen und römischen Münzen aus dem Karpatenbecken des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest, 1989), 25, no. 77; Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 265.

499 Kovács, *Münzen*, 73, no. 415, n. 408.

500 Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 137, no. 16; Velter, “Unele considerații,” 266, no. 49; Kovács, *Münzen*, 33, no. 115 (Jamu Mare).

501 Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 140, no. 42; Velter, “Unele considerații,” 269, no. 111; Kovács, *Münzen*, 70, no. 382, 140, pl. 37.

502 Kovács, *Münzen*, 91, no. 1046, n. 511.

503 E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu and E.-M. Constantinescu, “Monede romane târzii și bizantine din colecția Muzeului Județean Buzău,” in *Mousaios* 4 (1994): 321n35; Gh. Mănușu-Adameșteanu, *Monede bizantine din colecțiile Muzeului municipiului București* (București, 2003), 56, 295, no. 1.

504 Campania 2004, Mangalia, CIMEC, 2005, 87–90, no. 57. www.cimec.ro/Arheologie/cronicaCA2005/cd/index.htm (accessed 01.24.2008), 87–90, no. 57.

505 In the settlement *Ostrica*-Kodyň II, Chernivtsi region, a holed silver coin was discovered, used as a pendant, quite worn out (polished hard at both sides), which does not allow its exact typological and chronological classification. Rusanova and Timoščuk, *Kodyň*, 22, fig. 18/3. For analogies see the situation in Bulgaria in Ž. N. Vážarova, *Slavjani i Prab'lgari (Po danni na nekropolite ot VI–XI v. Na teritorijata na B'lgarija)* (Sofia, 1976), 295.

506 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 265. Similar samples have been attested in Biskupija-Crkvina, Croatia where *solidi* from Constantin V (741–775) were found, used as obols, L. Karaman, “Zlatni nalaz na Trilju nedaleko od Sinja,” *VAHD* 44 (1921): 3–20; J. Werner, “Zur Zeitstellung der altkroatischen Grabfunde von Biskupija-Crvina (Marienkirche),” in *Schild von Steier. Beiträge zur Steirischen Vor- und Frühgeschichte und Munkunde* 15, 16, Festschrift Modrijan (1978), 228; in the grave 480 of the cemetery from Mikulčice, the Czech Republic, a *solidus* was discovered, from Teofil (829–842) issued in Constantinople in 832–839, T. Kučerovská, “Münzfunde Aus Mikulčice,” in *Studien Zum Burwall Von Mikulčice*, ed. L. Poláček, 151–70. Brno, 1998, 156 or in Staré Mesto and Břeclav-Pohansko, Nechvalín; L. Poláček, “Ninth-Century Mikulčice: The ‘Market of the Moravians’? The Archeological Evidence of Trade in Great Morava,” in *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, ed. J. Henning (Berlin-New York, 2007), 499–524n21.

tombs, as *obolus*, was part of the funeral rites characteristic to the era under investigation.⁵⁰⁷ Also in this context are the discoveries from the grave M108 in the cemetery at Izvoru, Giurgiu county, from the seventh–ninth centuries, where they discovered a lighter, a fragment of flint, and a bronze coin from the time of Constantine I (306–337) in the left hand of the deceased, wrapped in a cloth.⁵⁰⁸ The recourse to the coins used as *obolus* to argue for chronological assessments is valid only in the general context of discovery, for the explicit reason that they may have been minted much earlier than the tombs had been built. This was the case in Izvoru, or, even more interestingly, in the case of a grave from the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries at Snagov, where, near the deceased’s hands, crossed on the chest, they found a coin from the reign of Ioan Tzimiskes (969–976).⁵⁰⁹

507 Although the funeral ritual obol of Charon/Χάρων (*Totenobolus*) of putting a coin in the mouth or the left hand of the deceased appeared in Antiquity, it also occurs in the early Middle Ages at several peoples from Asia and till Northern Europe. L. Huszár, “Das Münzmaterial in den Funden des Völkerwanderungszeit im mittleren Donaubecken,” *AAH* 5 (1955): 65–109; E. Kolníková, “Obulus mrtvých vo väčšomstredovekých hrobch na Slovensku,” *SlArch* 15 (1967): 189–254; A.-S. Gräslund, “Charonsmynt i vikingatida gravar?,” *Tor* 11 (1967): 168–97; V. M. Potin, “Monety v pogrebenijach Drevnej Rusi i ich značenie dlja archeologii i etnografii,” *TGE* 12 (1971): 49–119, 53–56; P. Sarvas, “Länsi-Suomen ruumishautojen raha-ajoitukset,” *HYALM* 6 (1972): 9; T. Talvio, “Finland’s Place in Viking-Age Relations Between Sweden and the Eastern Baltic/Northern Russia: The Numismatic Evidence,” in *Journal of Baltic Studies* 13 (1982): 245–55; W. Hävernicks, “Münzen als Grabbeigaben 750–1817,” *HBN* 27 (1982): 27–51; M. Rejholcová, “Obolus mrtvých ny pohrebisku v Cakajovciach,” *SN* 10 (1989): 191–201; F. Thierry de Crussol, “Obole à Charon et rite fanhan. A propos des monnaines déposées dans la bouche de morts de la nécropole d’Astana,” in *Kontakte zwischen Iran, Byzanz und der Steppe im 6.–7. Jahrhundert*. *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* X, ed. C. Bálint (Budapest, Napoli, Roma, 2000), 323–29; H. Steuer, “Obolus,” in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 21, ed. R. Müller (Berlin, New York, 2002), 509–11; T. Talvio, “Coins and Coin Finds in Finland AD 800–1200,” *ISKOS* 12 (2002): 67–72.

508 Mitrea, “Unele probleme,” 449. E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, referring to the coin from Izvoru supports the existence of a similar case in the cemetery from Castelu (E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, “Imperiul Bizantin și ‘Barbaricum apropiat’-populațiile din Muntenia și Imperiul Bizantin în secolele VI–X (marturia numismaticii),” *Ialomița* 4 (2003–2005): 323–81), the situation that has not been proved by the publications regarding the excavations in the cemetery from the settlement in Castelu: M. Comșa, A. Rădulescu, and N. Harțuchi, “Necropola de incinerare de la Castelu,” *MCA* 8 (1962): 649–60; A. Rădulescu and N. Harțuchi, *Cimitirul feudal-timpuriu de la Castelu* (Constanța, 1967); A. Panaitescu, “Date noi privind feudalismul timpuriu în zona comunei Castelu,” *Pontica* 13 (1980): 284–90. An interesting case was recorded in the grave no. 76 of a cemetery of the ninth century from Uherském Hradišti-Sadech, Slovakia, where an iron plaque was found with the size 5 x 3 cm, 0.15 cm thick, with rounded corners, wrapped in a piece of cloth of 15 x 15 cm. Placing improvised coins into the graves is known in the Middle Ages. The Slovak case has caused various discussions on purpose and usefulness of this finding, including the idea of using it in the exchange relations in Moravia, along with iron hryvnja and some cloth handkerchiefs. K. Marešová, “Nález předmincovního platidla na slovanském pohřebišti v Uherském Hradišti-Sadech,” *Casopis Moravského musea* 6 (1976): 31–37; Marešová, “Předmincovní platidlo ze slovanského pohřebišti v Uherském Hradišti-Sadech,” *Slovenká Numizmatika* 10 (1989): 100, fig. 1–2.

509 D. V. Rosetti, *I, Săpăturile arheologice de la Snagov, I. II Tombe a incineration de l’âge du fer et de l’époque romaine dans la région de Bucarest. III Miscellanea*, Publicațiile Muzeului municipiului

The category of numismatic sources also includes coins whose place of discovery is unknown, which does not allow us to book and analyse them in a definite historical context. There are forty-one numismatic pieces that are part of the collections of museums in Budapest, Bucharest, Suceava, Chişinău, and others,⁵¹⁰ being, in their turn, registered in general statistics (Table 6).⁵¹¹ In the Republic of Moldova only two coins, minted in the time of Leon VI, are known (886–911),⁵¹² while in Romania one *follis* from Leon III has been found (717–741), three *folles* from Theophil (829–842), three *folles* and one *solidus* from Basil I (867–887), and nine *folles* from Leon VI.⁵¹³ In Hungary, there are another twenty-two pieces from the reign of the Emperors Michael II (820–829), Theophil (829–842), Michael III (842–867), Basil I (867–886), and Leon VI (886–912) (Tables 6, 8). In the specialized literature, other monetary discoveries from the seventh–ninth centuries have also been certified, without specifying the reign, which does not allow us to assign them to this study. Such cases are known in settlements at Cuptoare, Caraş-Severin county,⁵¹⁴ Veţel, Hunedoara county,⁵¹⁵ Curtuişeni-Dealul Cărmădăriei, Bihor county,⁵¹⁶ Berghin-În Peri, Alba county,⁵¹⁷ and others.

Bucureşti, nr. 2 (Bucureşti, 1935), 12, 16, fig. 10; P. Diaconu, “Pătrunderea pecenegilor în Cîmpia Romînă şi argumentul numismatic,” in *SCIVA* 35 (1984): 72 and n. 18 (Roman III Argyros (1028–1034)).

510 These numismatic pieces are usually from museum collections, being purchased, and received through donation or confiscation and so on, without knowing the details on the place of their discovery. Mănuclu-Adameşteanu, *Monede bizantine*, 57, n. 97. For numismatic collections of the National Museum of History of Transylvania see the recent publication by L. Călian, C. Găzdac, and Ȃ. Alföldy-Găzdac, *The Ancient and Byzantine Gold Coinages in the National History Museum of Transylvania. Moneda de aur antică şi bizantină în Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2007).

511 Byzantine monetary discoveries contain the pieces from the collection of P. Papahagi, including the coins of the eighth–ninth centuries. The published data let us know that the monetary emissions of Leon IV and Constantine (775–780) come from Silistra—a half *follis*; Leon V and Constantin (813–820)—2 *folles*; Mihail II and Theophil (821–829)—1 *follis*; Theophil (829–842) 3 *folles* and a half *follis*; Vasile I (867–886)—6 *folles*; Leon VI (886–912)—52 *folles*. E. Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, “Monnaies byzantines des VIIe–Xe siècles découvertes à Silistra dans la collection de l’Académicien Péricle Papahagi conservées au Cabinet des médailles du Musée National d’Histoire de Roumanie,” *CN* 7 (1996): 100–1.

512 Nudel’man, *Topografija kladov*, 88.

513 B. Mitrea, “Découvertes récentes et plus anciennes de monnaies antiques et byzantines en Roumanie,” *Dacia N.S.* 11 (1967): 389–90, no. 77, 2, no. 4; Preda, “Circulaţia monedelor,” 412; E. Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, “La răscruce de vremuri-tranziţia de la antichitate la evul mediu timpuriu în zona Porţilor de Fier ale Dunării—un punct de vedere numismatic,” *CN* 8 (2002): 149.

514 RepCaraş-Severin 2004, 58, no. 80.3.

515 RepHunedoara 2005, 168, no. 475.4.c. C. Preda considers that the Byzantine coin of Veţel could have dated from the tenth–twelfth centuries. Preda, “Circulaţia monedelor,” 411.

516 S. Dumitraşcu, “Romanizare, romanizare, românizare,” *Crisia* 4 (1974): 30; Cosma, *Vestul şi nord-vestul*, 188, no. 79.

517 Aldea et al., “Cercetări arheologice,” 151–52; M. Blăjan, “Contribuţii la repertoriul arheologic al aşezărilor rurale antice (secolele II–III e.n.) din Dacia Romană,” *Apulum* 26 (1989): 294; RepAlba 1995, 55, no. 19:4, 56, no. 19:9.

Out of total number of ninety-two Byzantine coins from the eighth–ninth centuries, 68 per cent are pieces of bronze (sixty-two *folles*), 24 per cent are of gold (twenty-two *solidi*) and only 8 per cent are of silver (seven *miliaresia*).⁵¹⁸ Regarding the pieces with a solidly determined place of discovery the situation is similar: out of fifty-one coins, thirty-one are *folles* (61 per cent), seventeen *solidi* (33 per cent), and three *miliaresia* (6 per cent) (Tables 8, 10, Map 8).

The predominance of bronze coins is a tradition for regions outside the Empire and shows its role and importance within the economic cycle throughout the early Middle Ages. The discovery of *folles* in the Carpathian-Danubian regions dating from the eighth–ninth centuries, even in a small number when compared with other periods, reflects both the real state of the Byzantine financial system and the weight of the Imperial coin in relations with the neighbouring populations.

Gold coins in the studied regions mostly come from the ninth century. The eighth century is represented by one *solidus* from Anastasius II (713–715) and Konstantin V (741–775). Between the reigns of Leon V (813–820) and Leon VI (886–912) the *solidus* is constantly present on the territories north of the Danube: found were one *solidus* from the time of the emperor Leon V (813–820), Michael II (820–829), and Michael III (842–867) respectively, while eight *solidi* come from Theophil (829–842), seven from Basil I (867–886), and two from Leon VI (Table 10).

The occasional occurrence of silver coin in certain periods of time can be explained by its ceremonial role and its issuance on the occasion of the coronation of various emperors and their associations with their reigns, as happened, for example, in the case of the emperors Konstantin V and Leon IV.⁵¹⁹ In the Balkan regions, silver coins are completely missing in the period between the reigns of Tiberius III and Leon IV,⁵²⁰ and a single piece originates from north of the Lower Danube—the one from Konstantin V (751–775), discovered in Tichilești, Brăila county.⁵²¹ A long absence followed until the silver coin reappeared in four samples from Basil I (867–886) and two samples from Leon VI (886–912).

In the context of the political, military, economic, and social transformations in the Empire, the Byzantine monetary system underwent profound changes, being adapted to new states of affairs.⁵²² Frequent denominations contributed to a progressive decrease in the quantity of the golden coins (*solidus*) and enhanced the importance of the copper coin on the Byzantine market, factors that had also had an impact on the monetary

518 Golden coin—*solidus* (nomisma)—constituted the base of the Byzantine monetary system, one *solidus* having been equivalent in the eighth century with 288 *folles*. W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780–842* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 36.

519 Ph. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (London, 1982), 160.

520 F. Curta, “Bizantium in Dark-Age Greece (The Numismatic Evidence in its Balkan Context),” in *Bizantine and Modern Greek Studies* 29 (2005): 120.

521 Dimian, “Cîteva descoperiri,” 197; Preda, “Circulația monedelor,” 410.

522 C. Morrisson, “Survivance de l’économie monétaire à Byzance (VIIe–IXe siècle),” in *Oi Skoteinoi Aiwonei tov Byzantiov (7oc–9oc a.) (The Dark Centuries of Byzantium (7th–9th c.))*, ed. E. Kountoura-Galake (Aθήνα, 2001), 378.

distribution on the territories outside the imperial borders. Thus the *folles* became the main coin used in the seventh–tenth centuries,⁵²³ and gold and silver coins continued to be mostly from subsidies or gifts made to the chiefs of barbarian populations and to neighbouring countries for their services. However, in the eastern regions of the Balkans the Byzantine bronze coin is missing virtually throughout the eighth century, an absence that has a direct connection with the establishment of the Bulgarians in these regions and with the economic situation in Byzantium.⁵²⁴

Most coins were issued in Constantinople, except for *folles* from Tiberius III (689–705), produced at a workshop in Ravenna,⁵²⁵ and two *demifolles* issued by Basil I (867–886), minted in Chersones (Table 10).⁵²⁶ This situation corresponds to the state of facts in the Byzantine monetary system during the eighth–ninth centuries. In the seventh–eighth centuries, most mints were occupied by invaders (Antiochia, Alexandria) or closed by the Byzantines (Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Thessalonica). Only the mint of Constantinople remained active for the eastern areas of the Empire by the end of the seventh century.⁵²⁷ The Mint of Ravenna was closed in 751, and the one of Rome in 776 or 781.⁵²⁸ The only functioning mint outside the Empire's borders was at Chersones, and was also closed over a long period in the eighth century, reopening only in the first half of the ninth century.⁵²⁹

Isolated findings represent coins lost by their holders in unknown circumstances and periods, which complicates the assessment of their role and place in the economic, cultural, and political milieu of the region. Therefore, in order to reconstruct a clearer picture of the spread of Byzantine coins, we consider an analysis of monetary discoveries after the period of issue of coinage appropriate. Next, we will examine these findings in the political, economic, and military context of the Empire during the reigns of each emperor during the eighth and the ninth centuries.

The coinage of the emperor Tiberius III (689–705) north of the Lower Danube is represented by three coins from isolated discoveries: one in Berezeni, Vaslui county,⁵³⁰

523 Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 9.

524 Curta, "Byzantium in Dark-Age," 122.

525 Teodor, "Elemente," 113; Preda, "Circulația monedelor," 396; Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 78; 1997, 49n.70; Stoljarik, *Essay on Monetary*, 142n.79; Langu, "Aspecte ale circulației," 51n3.

526 Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "Societate, economie," 328n69.

527 Usually there were inscriptions on the coins produced in Constantinople and on the golden coins issued in Ravenna: CON, CONOB, CONOS, COB; the inscriptions RAV, RA, RAB, RAVEN, RAVENNA occur on the silver and bronze coins from Ravenna. The coins issued in Chersones have the inscription Χερσωνοc or ΧΕΡCONOC. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 20–26.

528 A. R. Bellinger and Ph. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collecton*, vol. III, *Leo III to Nicephorus III 717–1081* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1973), 87–91 and 92–94; Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 5–6.

529 G. H. Goodacre, *A Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire*, 2nd ed. (London, 1957), 13; Bellinger and Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins*, 91–92.

530 Dimian, "Cîteva descoperiri," 197; Preda, "Circulația monedelor," 396; Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 78; Stoljarik, *Essay on Monetary*, 142, no. 79; Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "La răscruce," 121–72 and 147.

another one in Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Mehedinți county,⁵³¹ and the third one in Mediaș, Sibiu county, Romania.⁵³² The pieces are *folles*, of which the one found at Berezeni was issued in Ravenna, and those found in Drobeta-Turnu Severin and Mediaș came from the mint at Constantinople, presenting analogies with other coins minted in that period.⁵³³ The coins of Tiberius III arrived in the regions north of the Danube in the early eighth century, the more so as we know that the piece found at Drobeta-Turnu Severin was issued in the years 700–701. The general absence of the coin at the time of the mentioned emperor is typical for most territories in the Empire and those bordering it. In Dobrogea only two pieces from Tiberius III's reign have been found.⁵³⁴

The second reign of Justinian II (705–711), when he governed together with Tiberius, is represented by the *follis* discovered in the foundations of the National Theatre of Bucharest, found north of the Lower Danube.⁵³⁵ Byzantine coins north of the Danube from the reigns of Philippicus or Theodosius III Adramyrtium (vara 715–24.07.717)⁵³⁶ have been found,⁵³⁷ with the closest discoveries being a piece in Dobrogea⁵³⁸ and another one in Banat, which, however, make up part of a hoard of the tenth century.⁵³⁹ The

531 Butnariu, "O nouă monedă," 169; E. Oberlander-Târnoaveanu, "Coins and History. The Case of the Area of the Iron Gates of the Danube during 10th–11th Centuries," *Istros* 10 (2000): 390; Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, "La răscruce," 147; Curta, "Bizantium in Dark-Age," 132n102, 133n118; Mănușu-Adameșteanu, *Monede bizantine*, 56.

532 Dimian, "Cîteva descoperiri," 197; Horedt, *Contribuții*, 106, no. 3; Preda, "Circulația monedelor," 403; Oberlander-Târnoaveanu, "Coins and History," 390. E. Oberländer-Târnoaveanu considers the discovery uncertain because there are some discrepancies between the description of the coin and references from the catalogue to which the reference is made, concluding that without deciphering the legend, some features of the type are not enough to assign the piece to Tiberius III as similar representations have been found on the issuance of several emperors, between the end of the reign of Constantine IV and the beginning of the reign of Leon III. Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, "La răscruce," 148.

533 W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini. Von Heraclius bis Leo III./Alleinregierung (610–720)* (Wien, 1981), 73; 189–90; W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London, 1908), 353, no. 36.

534 Custurea, "Schimburile economice," 388; Stoljarik, *Essay on Monetary*, 159, table 5.

535 Gh. Mănușu-Adameșteanu and M. Mărgineanu Cârstoiu, "București Punct: Calea Viei, nr. 37 B, Fundațiile Teatrului Național," in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România. Campania 2004* (Mangalia, CIMEC, 2005), 87–90, no. 57.

536 Goodacre, *A Handbook of the Coinage*, 129; A. R. Bellinger and Ph. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, Anastasius I to Maurice, 491–602*, 1 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1966), 664–72 and 684–90.

537 The piece from Govora, Vâlcea county, turned out to have been dated incorrectly, in reality being from the time of Theodosius II (408–450). Toropu and Stoica, "Monede bizantine," 160, table 1; Oberlander-Târnoaveanu, "Coins and History," 390.

538 Custurea, "Schimburile economice," 388; Stoljarik, *Essay on Monetary*, 159, table 5.

539 A solidus from Theodosius III is part of the hoard from Veliki Gaj, Serbia, chronologically attributed to the eleventh century. Oberlander-Târnoaveanu, "Coins and History," 390–91; Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, "La răscruce," 148.

only coin from this period registered is a *solidus* minted under Anastasius II Artemius (3.06.713–summer 715), which was discovered in Pannonia, in Ószóny, Komárom, Hungary—regions that were under the control of the Avars at that point.⁵⁴⁰ The rarity of numismatic pieces from the reigns of these emperors can be explained by both the short duration of their reigns and the political and socio-economic conditions in the Empire.

In the Carpathian-Danubian regions only three bronze coins, minted in Constantinople between 717/720 and 741 during the diarchy of Leon III and Konstantin V have been found: one coin was discovered in Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Mehedinți county,⁵⁴¹ and another was found in Pázmándfalu, Győr-Moson-Sopron county, Hungary.⁵⁴² The third piece is part of the collection of the National Museum of Bukovina at Suceava.⁵⁴³ Coins issued by Leon III are quite rare throughout the Balkan-Black Sea area and are completely missing on the territory of Dobrogea.⁵⁴⁴ This situation was largely due to internal events in the Empire, conflicts with the Bulgarians, and the Arab world, and other factors.

From the time of the Emperor Konstantin V (741–775), who governed in association with Leon IV and became *Augustus* on 6.06.751, three Byzantine coins have been found north of the Lower Danube: one *solidus*, a *miliaresion*, and a *folles*, discovered by chance in the settlements at Vypasne, Belgorod-Dnestrovsk rayon, Odessa region, Ukraine,⁵⁴⁵ Tichilești, Brăila county,⁵⁴⁶ and Voila, Brașov county,⁵⁴⁷ Romania. All three coins were issued in Constantinople during the diarchy of Konstantin with his son Leon IV in the years 751–775.⁵⁴⁸ In Dobrogea the coins of Constantine V are represented by a single sample.⁵⁴⁹ The appearance of the coins of that time in the Danubian regions can be attributed to the Byzantine expeditions against the Bulgarians of 756, 763, and 773, with the participation of the imperial fleet.

The next Byzantine coin, found to the north of the Lower Danube, is from the time of the emperor Nicephor I (802–811), who reigned in association with Stauracius, *Augustus*

540 Velter, “Unele considerații,” 267; Oberlander-Târnoveanu, “Coins and History,” 390; Oberländer-Târnoveanu, “La răscruce,” 148.

541 Butnariu, “O nouă monedă,” 169; Oberlander-Târnoveanu, “Coins and History,” 391; Oberländer-Târnoveanu, “La răscruce,” 148; Curta, “Bizantium in Dark-Age,” 132, no. 102, 133, no. 118.

542 D. Csallány, “Vizantijskie monety v avarskih nahodkah,” *AAH* 2 (1952): 38, 240–41, 246; Každan, “Vizantijskie goroda,” 169.

543 Gogu, “Monedele bizantine,” 298, catalogue no. 32.

544 Stoljarik, *Essay on Monetary*, 159, table 5.

545 T. N. Kokoržickaja and E. S. Stoljarik, “Pozdnerimskie i vizantijskie monety v meždureč'e Dnepra i Pruta (70–80 gg.),” in *Numizmatičeskie issledovanija po istorii jugo-vostočnoj Evropy*, ed. V. L. Janin, A. A. Nudel'man, L. L. Polevoj, G. F. Čebotarenko, and T. F. Rjaboj (Kišinev, 1990), 114, no. 29; Stoljarik, *Očerki monetnogo obraščeniija*, 48, no. 93, fig. 14/5,6.

546 Dimian, “Cîteva descoperiri,” 197; Preda, “Circulația monedelor,” 410; Oberländer-Târnoveanu and Constantinescu, “Monede romane,” 321.

547 Curta, “Bizantium in Dark-Age,” 134, no. 126; Dulea, “Considerații,” 253.

548 A. Fiala, “Z najnovších objavov byzantských mincí na Slovensku,” in *Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea, Archeológia Supplementum* 2, ed. J. Bartík (Bratislava, 2007), 125, no. 12, obr. 4.

549 Custurea, “Schimburile economice,” 388; Stoljarik, *Essay on Monetary*, 159, table 5.

since December 803, and was discovered in Şirna, Prahova county, Romania. The *follis* was issued in Constantinople in the years 803–811, being minted over a coin from the empress Irena (797–802).⁵⁵⁰ The coin from Şirna is practically the only sample discovered in the cultural layers of a settlement dating from the ninth–tenth centuries north of the Lower Danube, which is conclusive value for the chronological framework of the findings in this archaeological site.⁵⁵¹ Unfortunately, the number of coins issued under Nicephor that have been found in the Carpatho-Balkan space is quite low. Only three coins have been found in the territory of Dobrogea.⁵⁵² The small number of coins during the reign of this emperor can also be explained by essential losses of Byzantine monetary volume in its conflicts with the Bulgarians and the Arabs. Thus, in 809 the Bulgarians captured the pay intended for the soldiers from the thema Strymon, worth 1,100 golden pounds (79,200 *solidi*), and two years later the Arabs captured, after a raid, the pay designated for the thema Armeniakon, with a total value of 1,300 golden pounds or 93,600 *solidi*. These are just two events mentioned by sources, but, there were likely dozens of similar cases.⁵⁵³ The conflicts between the Byzantines and the Bulgarians also fit into this context. In 811, when Nicephor occupied the city of Pliska, he captured Krum's treasury. Written sources state that it was composed of large amounts of Byzantine coins, including bronze ones; however, contemporary archaeological excavations have not confirmed a substantial presence of Byzantine coins in Pliska at the beginning of the ninth century.⁵⁵⁴ The fate of the Byzantine emperor was tragic, as he was killed in the battle of 25 July 811, and his treasury was looted by the soldiers of Krum.⁵⁵⁵

In the regions north of the Danube only two pieces of the emperor Leon V (813–820) are known, who ruled together with his son Constantine, *Augustus* since 25 December 813. A *solidus* without inscriptions, considered likely to date from Leon V's reign, was discovered in a settlement from the ninth century in Pázmánd, Fújér county, Hungary.⁵⁵⁶ The hoard in Cleja, Bacău county, Romania also included a bronze coin issued under the rule of the

550 Ş. Olteanu, "O monedă de la împăratul Bizanţului Nichifor I descoperită la Şirna, jud. Prahova şi importanţa ei pentru datarea primei faze a culturii 'Dridu,'" *CN* 8 (2002): 174; Mănuclu-Adameşteanu, *Monede bizantine*, 56.

551 E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu considers that this coin would have been brought in northeastern Wallachia by a local, participating in the battles between the Byzantines and the Bulgarians in the time of Nicephor I (802–811). Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "Imperiul Bizantin," 323–81.

552 Custurea, "Schimburile economice," 388; Gh. Mănuclu-Adameşteanu, "La diffusion de la monnaie byzantine en Dobroudja aux IX^e–X^e siècles," *EBPB* 3 (1997): 110.

553 D. M. Metcalf, "How Extensive Was the Issue of Follis During the Years 775–820?," *Byzantion* 36 (1967): 271; W. T. Treadgold, *Byzantium and Its Army, 284–1081* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 141.

554 Treadgold, *The Byzantine*, 172–73; Florin Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250*. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 150–51.

555 Treadgold, *The Byzantine*, 172–73; Curta, *Southeastern Europe*, 150–51.

556 Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 139, no. 33; Velter, "Unele consideraţii," 267, no. 77; Kovács, *Münzen*, 52, no. 267; Velter, *Transilvania*, 307, no. CLXVI/264.

emperors Leon V and Konstantin (813–820),⁵⁵⁷ along with two other pieces from that time certified on the territory of Dobrogea.⁵⁵⁸

In the context of civil war, social-economic and political transformations in the Empire, of transition from one dynasty to another (from Amorian to Macedonian), and other crises, the Byzantine coin, even if it was issued in greater amounts by the mint in Constantinople, reached the regions north of the Danube in a very low numbers. A *solidus* from Michael II Amorianul (820–829), who reigned in association with Theophil, *Augustus* since either 12.05.821 or 1.06.822, has been found, and there has also been a *follis* found in the area surrounding Kiskunfélegyháza, Bács-Kiskun county, Hungary,⁵⁵⁹ without a clear point of discovery, and it is part of the National Museum of Budapest.⁵⁶⁰ The coins from the reign of this emperor are also quite rare in the regions south of the river, on the territory of Dobrogea, with only one piece being known.⁵⁶¹

The financial situation of the Empire finally improved during the reign of the emperor Theophil (829–842), who ruled in association with Constantine (Augustus on 5.06.830–831) and Michael (Augustus on 1.09.840).⁵⁶² Of the emperor Theophil's issue of coinage, especially from the latter part of his reign, eighteen coins have been found north of the Lower Danube, out of which ten are from the time of the emperor Theophil and eight from the reign of the diarchy of Constantine with Michael. From Theophil's reign we know of one *follis* in Buzău, Buzău county,⁵⁶³ in Craiova, Dolj county,⁵⁶⁴ in Sălcița, Dolj county,⁵⁶⁵ on the territory of Oltenia, without an exact location,⁵⁶⁶ two *folles* in Szentpéterúr, Zala county, Hungary,⁵⁶⁷ and a *solidus* in Kiskunfélegyháza, Bács

557 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 68no. 181; Mitrea, "Influențe bizantine," 148; Preda, "Circulația monedelor," 399; Butnariu, "O nouă monedă," 169.

558 Custurea, "Schimbările economice," 389; Stoljarik, *Essay on Monetary*, 159, table 5; Mănuclu-Adameșteanu, "La diffusion," 110.

559 Velter, *Transilvania*, 305, no. CXLIX/236.

560 Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 142, no. 68; Kovács, *Münzen*, 81no. 858.

561 Custurea, "Schimbările economice," 389; Stoljarik, *Essay on Monetary*, 159, table 5; Mănuclu-Adameșteanu, "La diffusion," 110.

562 Goodacre, *A Handbook of the Coinage*, 176, 178; Treadgold, *The Byzantine*, 263–329.

563 Oberländer-Târnoveanu and Constantinescu, "Monede romane," 17n34. Mănuclu-Adameșteanu, *Monede bizantine*, 57n.97.

564 Mitrea, "Découvertes récentes," 389–90, no. 77, 2, no. 4; Preda, "Circulația monedelor," 412; Toropu and Stoica, "Monede bizantine," 160, table 1; Toropu, *Romanitatea târzie și străromânia în Dacia traiană sud-carpatică (sec. III–IX)* (Craiova, 1976), 183 and annex 18; Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "La răscruce," 149; Mănuclu-Adameșteanu, "La diffusion," 236, no. 2.

565 Preda, "Circulația monedelor," 408; Toropu and Stoica, "Monede bizantine," 161, catalogue 1.

566 Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "Coins and History," 392; Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "La răscruce," 149n203; Mănuclu-Adameșteanu, "La diffusion," 236, no. 3.

567 Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 142, no. 71–72; Velter, "Unele considerații," 266, no. 52; Kovács, *Münzen*, 81, no. 861–862.

county, Hungary.⁵⁶⁸ The coin discovered in Sălcuța, Dolj county, was issued between the years 839–842, being from one of the latest issues at *folles* at the end of the reign of Theophilus and its appearance in the regions north of the Danube can be attributed to the mid-ninth century. During his associated reigns seven *solidi* and one *follis* have been found, out of which six were coins with an exact location, discovered, in most cases, in the graves of various cemeteries from the tenth–eleventh centuries on the current territory of Hungary in Csongrád-*Vendelhalom*, Csongrád county,⁵⁶⁹ Füle, Fejér county,⁵⁷⁰ Jánoshalma-*Kisráta*, Bács-Kiskun county,⁵⁷¹ Kiskunfélegyhaza, Bács county,⁵⁷² Pálmonostora, Bács-Kiskun county,⁵⁷³ and Tiszaeszlár-*Bashalom II-Fenyvestábla*, Szabolcs-Szatmár county.⁵⁷⁴ Among the coins issued by the emperor Theophil (829–842) are three *folles* in the hoard at Cleja, Bacău county.⁵⁷⁵ The collections of the museums of Bucharest,⁵⁷⁶ Ploiești,⁵⁷⁷ and Budapest⁵⁷⁸ include coins minted by Theophil, but not knowing the place of their discovery complicates their integration into a clear historical context (Chart 5). Most coins from the territory of Hungary were discovered during the inventorying of graves and have one perforation. This category of coin also includes the piece found in Oltenia, doubly perforated, having been also used, in all probability, as jewellery or a clothing decoration.⁵⁷⁹ The amount of coins from the time of Theophil increases in the regions south of the Danube, as in only Dobrogea seven pieces are known.⁵⁸⁰ This situation was due to the economic reforms undertaken by the

568 Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 142, no. 65; Velter, “Unele considerații,” 266, no. 52; Kovács, *Münzen*, 81, no. 859; Velter, *Transilvania*, 305, no. CXLIX/237.

569 Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 136, no. 8; 1989, 24, no. 67, pl. III; Velter, *Transilvania*, 303, no. CXXVIX/209.

570 Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 136, no. 12; Velter, “Unele considerații,” 265, no. 34; 2002, 303, no. CXXXVII/218.

571 Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 137, no. 16; Velter, “Unele considerații,” 266, no. 49; Kovács, *Münzen*, 33, no. 115 (Jamu Mare).

572 Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 142, no. 66; Velter, “Unele considerații,” 266, no. 52; Kovács, *Münzen*, 82, no. 863; Velter, *Transilvania*, 306, no. CXLIX/238.

573 Kovács, *Münzen*, 2, no. 865, 140, pl. 37, pl. XVII.

574 Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 140, no. 42; Velter, “Unele considerații,” 269, no. 111; Kovács, *Münzen*, 70, no. 382, 140, pl. 37.

575 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 68, no. 181; Mitrea, “Influențe bizantine,” 148; Preda, “Circulația monedelor,” 399; Butnariu, “O nouă monedă,” 169.

576 Mănușu-Adameșteanu, “La diffusion,” 186, no. 3 and 4.

577 Mănușu-Adameșteanu, “La diffusion,” 80.

578 Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 142, no. 69, 70; Velter, “Unele considerații,” 266, no. 52; Kovács, *Münzen*, 81, no. 860; Kovács, “Byzantinische Münzen,” 134, 142, no. 73; 1989, 82, no. 864.

579 Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, “La răscruce,” 149.

580 G. Custurea, “Unele aspecte privind penetrația monedei bizantine în Dobrogea în secolele VIII–X,” in *Pontica* 19 (1986): 276; Custurea, “Schimburile economice”; Stoljarik, *Essay on Monetary*,” 159, table 5; Mănușu-Adameșteanu, “La diffusion,” 110.

emperor Theophil (especially the monetary reform, by widely resuming the issuance of *folles*), as well as politico-military and diplomatic measures, characterized by repeated attacks by the imperial fleet on the Danube regions and the stabilization of relations between Byzantium and the Bulgarian state along with increased contacts between the Empire and the Hungarian hordes. These had had a direct impact on the growth of the Empire's authority, not only in the Danubian-Pontic regions and in the Crimea but also in Central Europe and Great Moravia.⁵⁸¹

The Emperor Michael III (842–867) reigned in association with his mother Theodora (842–856) and with Basil, *Augustus* on 26.05.866. In the time of Michael III, the mint at Chersonese became more active,⁵⁸² notable as its monetary issues, by the middle of the ninth century, differed from the rest of Byzantine coinage. However, measured by the volume of issued coins and strategic position, the mint of Constantinople remained the most important for this period.⁵⁸³ In the regions of the Lower Danube only two coins have been found from this period: a *solidus* in Găvănoasa, Cahul rayon, Republic of Moldova,⁵⁸⁴ and a *folles*, which is now in the National Museum of Budapest.⁵⁸⁵

The emperor Basil I (867–886), the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, reigned in association with Konstantin, *Augustus* 10.02.868–3.09.879, with Leon VI, *Augustus* after 6.01.870, and with Alexandru, *Augustus* after September 879. Sixteen coins have been found in the regions north of the Lower Danube from the reign of Basil I, out of which three *solidi*, one *miliaresion*, and two *folles* are part of independent issues under Basil I, four *solidi*, three *miliaresia*, and two *folles* from the period of the associated reign of Basil I and Konstantin (867–886), and a *folles* from Basil I, Konstantin, and Leon VI (870–880). Only five out of those sixteen coins can be located, while the place of discovery of the others is unknown.⁵⁸⁶ The five pieces with a definite location are *solidi*: one in Streda nad Bodrogom (Bodrogszerdahely), Trebišov, Slovakia,⁵⁸⁷ another in Poienii de Sus,

581 Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "La răscruce," 149.

582 Goodacre, *A Handbook of the Coinage*, 183–84.

583 Bellinger and Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine*, 452–70; Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, 7.

584 Kokoržickaja and Stoljarik, "Pozdnerimskie i vizantijskie monety," 114, no. 30; Stoljarik, *Očerki monetnogo obraščeniija*, 48, 93, fig. 14/5,6; 1993, 12, no. 82.

585 Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 142, no. 74; 1989, 82, no. 866.

586 Horedt, *Siebenbürgen*, 98; Kovács, *Münzen*, 82, no. 867; Velter, *Transilvania*, 302, no. CXII/188; Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 52; Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "Societate, economie," 328, n. 69. Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 142, no. 62; Horedt, *Siebenbürgen*, 98; Velter, "Unele considerații," 263; Kovács, *Münzen*, 82, no. 867; Velter, *Transilvania*, 302, no. CXII/189; Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 52; Mănușu-Adameșteanu, "La diffusion," 186, no. 5; Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 142, no. 75–80; Kovács, *Münzen*, 82, no. 868–873.

587 Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 135, no. 5; Velter, "Unele considerații," 268, no. 95; Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 142, no. 75–80; Kovács, *Münzen*, 21, no. 49; Velter, *Transilvania*, 311, no. CCII/314.

Buntești, Bihor county,⁵⁸⁸ a third in Orșova city, Mehedinți county,⁵⁸⁹ the fourth in Vaslui, Romania,⁵⁹⁰ and the fifth is in Suvorovo, Ismail Odessa region, Ukraine.⁵⁹¹ The coin found at Poienii de Sus is perforated, allowing us to attribute it to the category of pieces used as pendants.⁵⁹² Thus, in the regions north of the Lower Danube, there was an increase in the number of issued coins under Basil I compared to his predecessors. Although D. M. Metcalf stated, in the middle of the 1970s, that there was a lack of coins from the time of Basil I in the Balkan regions, with some minor exceptions,⁵⁹³ we can see today that their number has increased. Thus, ten pieces are known in Dobrogea alone, including seven *solidi* and three *folles*.⁵⁹⁴

In the first half of the ninth century, after the reorganization of the Cherson theme,⁵⁹⁵ the reopening of the mint of Chersonese took place. This mint had issued coins until 989, when the city was conquered by the Prince of Kyiv, Vladimir. The activity of the mint of Chersonese is distinguished by the production of coins with a high lead content.⁵⁹⁶ Coins issued in Chersonese under Basil I (879–886) have been also found in the regions east of the Carpathians.⁵⁹⁷ Similar pieces have been found on the territory of Dobrogea: three in Isaccea and six in Silistra.⁵⁹⁸

The emperor Leon VI (886–912) reigned in association with Alexandru, co-emperor since 886, and with Konstantin VII, *Augustus* since 15.05.908. On the territories north of the Danube the number of coins from the reign of Leon VI rose considerably as compared

588 V. Ondrouch, *Nálezy keltských, antických a byzantských mincí na Slovensku* (Bratislava, 1964), 170; A. Fiala, "Byzantské mince na Slovensku (6.–12. storočie)," *Slovenká Numizmatika* 10 (1989): 60, no. 2; A. Sășianu, "Descoperiri monetare antice și bizantine în Bihor," *Crisia* 13 (1983): 447–48, no. 8; Velter, "Unele considerații," 268, no. 79; Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 142, no. 75–80; 1989, 170, no. 1052; Velter, *Transilvania*, 297, no. LXXVII/139.

589 Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 135, no. 28; Velter, "Unele considerații," 267, no. 74; Kovács, *Münzen*, 51, no. 260; Velter, *Transilvania*, 296, no. LXXIV/113.

590 Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, "Societate, economie," 328, n. 68.

591 N. D. Russev and M. M. Fokeev, "Vizantijskij solid iz rajona Dunajskoj del'ty," *Stratum plus. Znamenija civilizacij* 6 (2001–2002): 183–85.

592 A. Madgearu considers that this piece may have originated from the Byzantine pay to local leaders. Madgearu, "Salt Trade and Warfare," 43–44.

593 D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans 820–1355* (Thessaloniki, 1965), 33.

594 Custurea, "Schimburile economice," 389; Stoljarik, *Essay on Monetary*, 159, table 5; Mănucu-Adameșteanu, "La diffusion," 110.

595 V. E. Naumenko, "K voprosu o nazvanii i date učreždenija vizantijskoj femy v Tavrike," *MAIET* 6 (1997): 689–700.

596 Gh. Mănucu-Adameșteanu and Ingrid Poll, "Monede de plumb din epoca bizantină aflate în colecțiile din România (secolele V–VI și XI–XII)," *Pontica* 37–38 (2004–2005): 541, including the notes 30 and 31.

597 Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, "Societate, economie," 328n69.

598 Mănucu-Adameșteanu, *Monede bizantine*, 100.

to his predecessors.⁵⁹⁹ The situation was due to the political and military realities in the regions of the Lower Danube.⁶⁰⁰ Thus, from Leon VI, who had a long reign (over twenty-five years), forty-one coins have been registered and mapped in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space.⁶⁰¹ Among them, twenty-one pieces belong to the collections of the museums of Bucharest,⁶⁰² Budapest,⁶⁰³ Kecskemét,⁶⁰⁴ and Chişinău,⁶⁰⁵ their place of discovery being unknown, and twenty pieces are discoveries with a precise location. The majority of the Byzantine coins from Leon VI found north of the Lower Danube are isolated and accidental discoveries, and only in one case were such coins part of a hoard. Fourteen pieces out of the thirty-nine Byzantine coins from the hoard of Cleja, Bacău county, Romania, are from the days of this emperor.⁶⁰⁶ Out of twenty coins with an exact discovery location, four pieces were discovered in closed archaeological complexes, with the rest being fortuitous discoveries. Coins from the complexes were found in graves of children or adults in cemeteries chronologically attributed to the tenth century: one *folles* in Csanytelek-*Síróhegy*, Csongrád county, Hungary,⁶⁰⁷ in Deta, Timiş county, Romania,⁶⁰⁸ in Hunedoara (Vajdahunyad-Kincseshegy), Hunedoara county, Romania,⁶⁰⁹ and a *solidus* in *Üllő-Ilona utca*, Pest county, Hungary.⁶¹⁰

The majority of the coins from the reign of Leon VI discovered north of the Lower Danube are made of bronze (thirty-seven) and only two are of silver and gold, which reflects the importance of the *folles* both in the domestic market of the Empire and outside its borders. The appearance of gold and silver pieces can be linked to the payment of subsidies to the Hungarians, the allies of Leon VI against the Bulgarians. The situation is

599 P. Georgiev, "Za moneta cirkulacija v B'lgarskata stolica prez VII-IX vek," *Numizmatični i sfragistični prinosi k'm istorijata na Zapadnoto Černomorie* (Varna, 2001), 223–29.

600 Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, "Imperiul Bizantin," 323–81.

601 Custurea, "Schimburile economice," 389–90; Stoljarik, *Essay on Monetary*, 159, table 5; Mănuclu-Adameşteanu, "La diffusion," 106, 110; Mănuclu-Adameşteanu, *Monede bizantine*, 97 (twenty-eight *folles*).

602 Preda, "Circulația monedelor," 412; Butnariu, "O nouă monedă," 170; Oberländer-Târnoaveanu and Constantinescu, "Monede romane," 321; Mănuclu-Adameşteanu, *Monede bizantine*, 57, 295, no. 4; Mănuclu-Adameşteanu, *Monede bizantine*, 186–87, no. 6–13.

603 Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 142, no. 81, 82–87, 89–90; Kovács, *Münzen*, 82, 83, 91, no. 874, 876, 878–884.

604 Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 142, no. 88; Kovács, *Münzen*, 91, no. 1047.

605 Nudel'man, *Topografija kladov*, 88, no. 3; Butnariu, "O nouă monedă," 170.

606 Preda, "Circulația monedelor," 399; Mitrea, "Influențe bizantine," 148; Butnariu, "O nouă monedă," 169; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 68, no. 181.

607 Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 136, no. 7; Velter, "Unele considerații," 263, no. 17; Kovács, *Münzen*, 23, no. 63; Velter, *Transilvania*, 303, no. CXXVI/205.

608 Sabău, "Circulația monetară," 288; Kovács, "Byzantinische Münzen," 134, 136, no. 9; Velter, "Unele considerații," 265, no. 23; Kovács, *Münzen*, 25, no. 77; Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 265.

609 Kovács, *Münzen*, 73, no. 415, n. 408.

610 Kovács, *Münzen*, 91, no. 1046, n. 511.

unclear in the case of the coins from Negrești and Zorleni, Vaslui county.⁶¹¹ Gh. Mănucu-Adameșteanu and E. Popușoi, in a recent article, conclude that Gh. Coman has made an error, as in reality there was talk of a single coin which could have come from Zorleni, but other authors have misused this information.⁶¹² Gh. Coman, however, in every publication clearly states the existence of two pieces from the time of Leon VI, presenting an appropriate drawing for each in particular.⁶¹³

The reduced number of coins in the studied period does not allow us to follow a certain dynamic in the penetration of Byzantine coins into the Carpathian-Danubian regions in this temporal segment. From the eighth century, the highest coefficient—0.5 coins/year—has been recorded in the time of the emperors Tiberius III (698–705) and Anastasius II (713–715). Starting with Leon V (813–820), we observe a revival in the spread of Byzantine coins in the Carpathian-Danubian regions, the pieces from Theophil being particularly notable (829–842), with a coefficient of 1.5 coins/year, and those from Basil I (867–886), with 0.88 coins/year. The culmination of this growth was achieved under Leon VI (886–912), with 1.64 coins/year, which is the highest coefficient north of the Lower Danube of the entire timeframe studied (Table 8, Chart 5).

From the above, we can state with confidence the numerical superiority of Byzantine coins issued by the emperor Leon VI as compared with the earlier pieces minted during the previous reigns of the eighth–ninth centuries. This fact shows a real return of Byzantine coins into the regions north of the Lower Danube, which can be situated in close correlation with the political, economic, and military situation, both in the Empire and in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic regions.

Although we can only talk about the Byzantine coin's penetration into the regions north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries, we can nevertheless highlight several stages from the chronological point of view that reflect the historical state of this phenomenon:

1. *The end of the seventh century—the beginning of the eighth century.* Here falls the discoveries of coins issued between the reigns of the emperor Tiberius III (689–705) and Theodosius III (715–717). In the regions that are the focus of our attention, only three *folles* from Tiberius III and one *follis* from Anastasius (713–715) have been found, which does not allow us to speak to a political and military activation of the Byzantines on the Danubian borders based on the numismatic data, contrary to the opinion of some researchers;⁶¹⁴

611 Gh. Coman, "Contribuții la cunoașterea fondului etnic al civilizației secolelor V–XIII în jumătatea sudică a Moldovei," *Carpica* 11 (1979): 206, fig. 11/16–17; Coman, "Noi cercetări arheologice," 93, fig. 13/8; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 121, no. 475, no. 774; Butnariu, "O nouă monedă bizantină," 170.

612 Gh. Mănucu-Adameșteanu and E. Popușoi, "Monede bizantine descoperite la est de Carpați," in *AM* 23–24 (2000–2001): 353, n. 31.

613 Coman, "Contribuții la cunoașterea," 206, fig. 11/16–17; Coman, "Noi cercetări arheologice," 93, fig. 13/8.

614 Custurea, "Schimburile economice," 388.

2. *The eighth century.* This is the interval of time between the reigns of Leon III (717–741) and Irena (797–802). This period of eight decades is very modestly represented in terms of monetary discoveries. Thus, north of the Lower Danube, only five pieces are known, including two *folles* from Leon III (717–741) and one *follis*, one *miliaresion*, and one *solidus* from the time of Konstantin V (741–775), followed by a twenty-seven-year period of a total absence of Byzantine coins. The situation at this stage is similar to that of the regions south of the Danube, even if in 716 Theodosius III signed a commercial treaty with the Bulgarian foederati;⁶¹⁵
3. *The ninth century–the beginning of the tenth century.* This era lies between the reigns of the emperors Nicephor I (802–811) and Leon VI (886–912). The majority of coins date from this period: fifty-five *folles*, twenty *solidi*, and six *miliaresia*. The coins found in the Lower Danube have a direct link with the conflicts between the Bulgarians and the Byzantines, joined by the Hungarians and later by the Petchenegs.

With all the available evidence, the statistical situation illustrates “a prompt return” of Byzantine coins into the Carpathian-Danubian regions in the early ninth century, as argued by some researchers,⁶¹⁶ since only one coin is known from Nicephor I (802–811) and Leon V (813–820), and from the immediately following period, the reign of Michael II (820–829), only one *follis* and one *solidus* have been registered. Only during the time of Theophil (829–842) did ten *folles* and eight *solidi* make themselves known, reflecting a significant presence of Byzantine coins north of the Lower Danube in comparison to the first two decades of the ninth century. This change in the flow of Byzantine coins can be correlated both with an increasing Bulgarian interest toward the regions from the north of the river after the fall of the Avars and the deportation of the Adrianopolitans north of the river in 813, and the appearance of the Byzantine fleet on the Lower Danube in 837 that came to help with the repatriation of the Adrianopolitans.⁶¹⁷ On the territory of Wallachia, a number of settlements chronologically assigned to the ninth–tenth centuries appeared, which would support the idea of the deportation of the Adrianopolitans into the territories between the Carpathians and the Danube.⁶¹⁸ Golden coins from the reign of the emperor Theophil (829–842), discovered in the Pannonian Plain in a perforated state, come from Hungarian graves from the tenth century. Byzantine perforated coins are often certified in the inventory of ten cemeteries dated from the eighth–eleventh centuries, which would mean their use as pendants or appliques for clothing decoration. The Hungarians could take possession of Byzantine coins issued under Theophilus as a result of their campaigns on the Danube either in the year 837, when they were invited by the Bulgarians to prevent the repatriation of the

⁶¹⁵ Custurea, “Unele aspecte,” 276; Curta, “Bizantium in Dark-Age,” fig. 2.

⁶¹⁶ Langu, “Aspecte,” 48.

⁶¹⁷ Leo Grammaticus, *Cronografia*, FHDR 2, 651–52; Simeon Magister, *Cronografia*, FHDR 2, 631.

⁶¹⁸ The population of Adrianople in the late eighth century–the beginning of the ninth century, counted about 20,000 inhabitants and a military contingent of approximately 3,000 soldiers. Treadgold, *Byzantium*, 16, Map 2; 40–41, Map 3.

Adrianopolitans, or a few years later. The period between the reign of Theophil and that of Leon VI is also characterized by a modest presence of Byzantine coins, with a coin from Michael III (842–867) and thirteen coins from Basil I (867–886) being registered, out of which only four had an exact location. Golden coins from Basil I and Constantine (867–886) could reach the north of the Danube through the Hungarians, who, in their capacity of allies of the Empire, periodically received a series of subsidies.⁶¹⁹ The piece discovered in Streda nad Bodrogom (Bodrogszerdahely), Trebišov region, Slovakia, could reach the area through either the Moravians, who had intensive relations with Byzantium during the ninth century or through the Christian missionaries coming from the Empire.

The rarity of such coins is explained by the penetration of the Bulgarians south of the Danube and by the crisis in the Byzantine Empire in the second half of the seventh century, lasting until the mid-ninth century.⁶²⁰ The transformations of Byzantine society related to Arab invasions, clashes with the Bulgarians, and iconoclastic crises had a direct impact on economic, social, cultural, and religious relations throughout the Empire.⁶²¹ In the financial sector, during the eighth century, there was a significant reduction in the money supply available to the domestic market of the empire. The penetration of Byzantine coins north of the Lower Danube after the second half of the ninth century is primarily related to the overcoming of the political, economic, social, and religious crises experienced by the Byzantine Empire in the eighth century–mid-ninth century and to the consequences of the monetary reform carried out under Theophilus (829–842), after which the *folles* gradually regained its value and importance.⁶²² Second, this phenomenon is correlated with changes in the ethnic, political, and military order in the regions north of the Danube which occurred in the late eighth and the beginning of the ninth century.⁶²³

Since the eighth century, only nine coins in the regions north of the Danube have been found so far, which does not allow us to talk about an important spread of Byzantine coins in that time and place. The reappearance of Byzantine coins in the Carpathian-Danubian regions took place only under Leon VI (886–912), from whose reign twenty isolated numismatic discoveries and fourteen coins from Cleja's hoard

619 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 51.

620 L. Brubaker and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680–850): The Sources*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, 7 (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2001); Olteanu et al., "Structuri economice," 63.

621 The number of mints had been steadily falling throughout the eighth century. Wayne G. Sayles, *Ancient Coin Collecting, V. The Romaion/Byzantine Coinage* (Iola, 1998), 52–62.

622 D. M. Metcalf, "The New Bronze Coinage of Theophilus and the Growth of the Balkan Themes," *ANSMN* 10 (1961): 81–98; Metcalf, "How extensive," 270–310; Metcalf, "The Reformed Folles of Theophilus: Their Styles and Localization," *ANSMN* 14 (1968): 121–52; Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe. 820–1396*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), 29–35.

623 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*; 1981; 1997; Olteanu, *Societatea carpato-danubiano-pontică*; Olteanu et al., "Structuri economice," 64–70; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*.

have been recorded (Table 9, Chart 7, Map 8).⁶²⁴ The penetration of Byzantine coins from the issues of Leon VI may be attributed to the presence of the imperial fleet at the mouth of the Danube, to the Byzantine-Bulgarian conflicts, to the Byzantine-Hungarian contacts in the years 893–896, and to the attack of the Petchenegs on the Hungarians.⁶²⁵ For example, Hungarian horsemen crossed to the south of the Danube with the help of the imperial fleet in 895 in order to help the Byzantines in their battles against the Bulgarians. Attracting the Hungarians to the side of Byzantium in the military conflict with the Bulgarians also involved the payment of subsidies, being evidenced by an impressive number of coins discovered both in the Carpathian-Danubian regions and in Pannonia, where they had been brought by the Hungarians after their forced departure from Etekköz. Thus, the coins discovered in Comana, Giurgiu county, Călărași, Călărași county, Dobrușa, Vâlcea county, Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Mehedinți county, Orșova, Mehedinți county, Ostrovul Banului, Mehedinți county, Ștefănești, Vâlcea county, Galița, Constanța, and Nufăru county, Tulcea county could have had a direct link to these events. The pieces issued under Leon VI and discovered in the localities of Satu Nou, Iași county, Gugești, Vaslui, and Zorleni-*Fântânele* county, Vaslui county, could have been there on account of the Hungarian raids as well. This situation from the reign of Leon VI highlights, in fact, a new stage in Byzantine efforts to restore their influence in the Danubian regions.

Out of a total of ninety-two Byzantine coins from the eighth–ninth centuries reported in the northern regions of the Lower Danube, only forty-nine pieces have been mapped. Monetary discoveries are unevenly distributed, both geographically and in terms of the era of minting. Based on the mapping of numismatic data we can see the presence of Byzantine coins in certain zones during the eighth–ninth centuries and in the following period⁶²⁶ (Map 8):

- in the Middle Danube valley and its western regions;
- along the middle course of the Tisza with a concentration in the Szeged region;
- in the intracarpathian space;
- on the territory of Oltenia;
- in the Orșova–Drobeta zone;
- in the central part of Wallachia;
- between the middle courses of the rivers Siret and Prut;
- south of Bugeac.

624 Preda and Chiriac describe this phenomenon as a “beginning, very shy though, but of the next stage in circulation of the Byzantine coin in the north of the Danube”; Preda, “Circulația monedelor,” 389; Chiriac, “Despre tezaurele monetare,” 377. S. Langu considers, however, that the ninth century produced a prompt return and a constant presence of the Byzantine coin in the tenth century on the territories from the north of the Lower Danube. Langu, “Aspecte,” 48.

625 Oberlander-Târnoaveanu, “Coins and History,” 393; Oberländer-Târnoaveanu, “Societate, economie,” 329.

626 Kovács, *Münzen*, map 40.

The appearance of coins in areas with high population densities usually highlights the existence of local centres of power and of some way of communication from the *hinterland*, located often along river valleys, where various travellers, merchants, missionaries, mercenaries, turncoats, itinerant craftsmen, locals, and others passed through. At the same time, we must not forget, as noted by D. M. Metcalf, the role of transhumant shepherds (who descended from the mountains to the plains of the Danube and Black Sea regions) as active participants in exchange relations.⁶²⁷ The corroboration of the cartographic situation with the historical-archaeological one from the eighth–ninth centuries reflecting the current level of research does not allow us to claim, based on numismatic data, the existence of trade routes or of an intensive interchange between the regions north of the Danube and the Byzantine Empire. In addition, coins on extra-Byzantine territory played a role rather different from their Byzantine use as marking the universal value of goods. These coins could reach the Danubian regions both during the rule of the emperor-issuer, and in the early years of the reign of his successor, when they still retained their monetary functions, and subsequently, they were put to use in the context of hoarding or as objects of adornment and clothing appliques. Using coins in salt trading, which has been demonstrated in that era, has not been confirmed by monetary discoveries in the regions where salt was extracted or along the Mures and the Tisza where this mineral was transported. The appearance of coins from Leon VI in the area of Orşova–Drobeta-Turnu Severin highlights the importance of the Danube in the context of the Bulgarian-Byzantine conflict, the appearance of the imperial fleet on the Danube, and the Hungarians passing to the south of the river as allies of the Empire, possibly near this area.⁶²⁸ In the eighth–ninth centuries, the presence of the Byzantine fleet was repeatedly observed at the mouth of the Danube.⁶²⁹ The local population delivered goods and rendered services to the Byzantine army and fleet, for which they could receive money. The numismatic situation in this period does not fairly represent the level of these relationships.

Based on the data available today, we find a pronounced rarity of Byzantine coins in the territories north of the Danube over two centuries, and at some intervals, I note its complete absence. We support the views of Dan Gh. Teodor, that the presence of Byzantine elements north of the Danube was due to the economic conjuncture of the Empire and external factors, but we cannot support the existence of *multiple* relationships between the territories north of the Lower Danube and Byzantium in the eighth–ninth centuries,⁶³⁰ because neither the archaeological nor the numismatic situation reflects

627 Metcalf, *Coinage*, 22.

628 G. L. Duncan, *Coin Circulation in the Danubian and Balkan Provinces of the Roman Empire AD 294–578*, Special publication no. 26 (London 1993), 107, 133–35; Oberländer-Fârnoveau, “From the Late Antiquity,” 29–70.

629 O. Damian, “Despre prezența bizantină la Dunărea de Jos în secolele VII–X,” in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, ed. I. Căndea, V. Sîrbu, and M. Neagu (Bârila, 2004), 283–318; Damian, *Bizanțul la Dunărea de Jos*, 189–96.

630 Teodor, “Elemente,” 123; Șt. Pascu, “Interférences roumano-byzantines dans l’aire carpatho-danubienne aux IXe–XIIe siècles,” *AHC* 24 (1981): 135–44.

the historical-political and socio-economic reality of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic regions at this time. The circulation of Byzantine coins north of the Lower Danube is more linked to the populations that either controlled or crossed these regions, to the deportation of the Adrianopolitans or to the appearance of the Byzantine fleet and army, than to relations between the Empire and the native population.

Thus, the penetration of the Slavs and later of the Bulgarians south of the Danube led to a gradual restriction of contacts with Byzantine centres. Compared to the sixth–seventh centuries, during the eighth–ninth centuries not only did the number of coins sink, but also the number of Byzantine objects more generally, which confirms the low character and level of contacts between the regions north of the Danube and the Byzantine Empire during this period. The role of migratory populations that, through their mobility, were active carriers of Byzantine values, have nevertheless been minimized in Romanian historiography. The Slavic and Bulgarian populations were intermediate to the spread of Byzantine objects in the seventh–ninth centuries, since, occupying the regions south of the river, they came into direct contact with the Byzantines. Gold and silver coins came, in most cases, from subsidies granted to the neighbouring populations by imperial authorities for the provision of military services. The recurrence of Byzantine coins in the Lower Danube by the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth century was due to new changes in the ethnic and political order of the region, together with the moving of the Hungarians and the Petchenegs from the East and the military activation of the Byzantines.⁶³¹

The limited number of Byzantine coins on the territories north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–ninth centuries does not allow us to support the idea of an “active movement in monetary circulation” and of “intense trade relations.” The role of the Byzantine coin in trade relations between the regions from the north of the Lower Danube and Byzantium has been often exaggerated in historiography, referring in particular to the periods with few coins like in the eighth–ninth centuries. I. Dimian wrote: “Byzantine coins circulated extensively on the territory of Popular Republic of Romania throughout the period of empire, and plays an important role in the mediation of exchange.” I. Mitrea, based on some modest discoveries of Byzantine origin for a period of four centuries, concludes that: “The materials in Byzantine style or of Byzantine influence, belonging to the sixth–ninth centuries from the sub-Carpathian region of Moldova are not only a testament of maintaining this region in the sphere of Byzantine civilization, but implicitly a confirmation of the presence of indigenous peoples, the Romans, in this geographic area.” Dan Gh. Teodor states: “an intense and almost uninterrupted circulation of Byzantine bronze or copper coins without an intrinsic value, used as the main means of exchange in the Carpathian-Danubian regions.” At the same time, this author, in the context of the Arab monetary discoveries approach, opines that “the penetration in the ninth–tenth centuries of such relics here is, probably, the result of an already mentioned fact that, in the respective time, the Byzantine trade in the north

631 Teodor, *Romanitatea*, 73; V. Spinei, “Migrația ungarilor în spațiul carpato-dunărean și contactele lor cu românii în secolele IX–X,” *AM* 13 (1990): 103–47; Chiriac, “Despre tezaurele,” 377.

of the Danube was less active due to the economic crisis in the empire of that time." S. Langu, referring to the circulation of the Byzantine coin in the south and the east of the Carpathians in the eighth–tenth centuries, says: "Although in much reduced quantities, compared to the previous periods, its presence is particularly important, demonstrating that the links with the south of the Danube had been never interrupted." This does not totally correspond to the political, economic, and cultural realities of the eighth–ninth centuries either in the Carpathian-Danubian-Dniesterian regions or in Byzantium.⁶³² A general conclusion regarding the "monetary circulation," formulated on the basis of only two to three coins⁶³³ found over a period of several centuries (the eighth–tenth centuries) in the regions north of the Lower Danube, cannot provide a true picture of Byzantium's relationships with the populations of these territories.⁶³⁴ Byzantine coins reached the north of the river in the eighth–ninth centuries only occasionally and, in most cases, as a result of payments made by the allies, robberies undertaken by invaders, and, rarely, as an instrument of trade and the object of accumulating treasures. The use of Byzantine coins by barbarian peoples as a medium of economic exchange relations was insignificant, with numismatic pieces being mainly used as pendants, appliques for clothing decorations, *obolus* in funeral rituals, or raw material for making ornaments. In all likelihood, trade relations in this period were further based on barter, characteristic of societies with a predominantly agricultural economy.⁶³⁵ The more so since, in the eighth–ninth centuries, the Byzantine society and economy underwent an intense ruralization process with a direct impact on domestic and foreign markets.⁶³⁶ The scarcity or absence of Byzantine coins in the eighth–ninth centuries is a common feature

632 Dimian, "Cîteva descoperiri," 189; Mitrea, "Influențe bizantine," 159; D. Gh. Teodor, "Legături economice între regiunile de la răsărit de Carpați și Orientul Arab în secolele IX–X e.n.," *AIIA "A.D. Xenopol,"* 22 (1985): 267.

633 E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu and E. M. Constantinescu, based on only five coins of the eighth–ninth centuries conclude: "These discoveries seem to indicate a rather marked interest of the Byzantine authorities from the zone of the Black Sea toward the territories from the north-east of Wallachia, which are important not only strategically but also for salt deposits in the region," Oberländer-Târnoveanu and Constantinescu, "Monede romane," 321. The archaeological and historical realities do not confirm the domination and the strategic interest of Byzantium in the Danubian regions during the eighth–ninth centuries and the salt trade in the Carpathian regions in this period was controlled by other political powers from the region.

634 Several Byzantine coins (10–20) in three centuries do not constitute a "large number" on which some very intense trade relations between the population from the north of the Danube and the Byzantines could have formed, Langu, "Aspecte ale circulației," 45.

635 Trade relations at the beginning of the eighth century between Byzantium and Bulgaria were governed by the treaty of 716, but the character of exchange was of natural order, having been kept until the tenth century, as it is also mentioned in the *Book of Eparch* (IX, 6).

636 "Nevertheless, in comparison with the empire of the sixth century the empire in 780 had an economy that was more primitive, in that it was less urban and less monetary," Treadgold, *The Byzantine*, 39. Rural areas, even in Empire, had always had a conservative attitude towards the trade exchange based on coin. Custurea, "Schimburile economice," 386.

for most European regions further afield, as well as for those areas controlled by the Byzantine Empire.⁶³⁷

Arab Coins. Since the eighth century, the political expansion of the Arab Caliphate led to the extension of Arabian trade with different regions of Europe, reaching as far as Central Europe and Scandinavia.⁶³⁸ It has been proven by Arab coins issued by the caliphs of the Abbasid dynasty (750–1258) and by the coins issued by the emirs and

637 For details on the presence of the Byzantine coin see on Eastern Ukraine V. N. Zocenko, "Vizantijskaja moneta v Srednem Podneprov'e," *Južnaja Rus' i Vizantija* (Kiev, 1991), 57–79; Kievan Russia—T. S. Noonan, "The Circulation of Byzantine Coins in Kievan Rus'," in *Byzantine Studies, Etude Byzantine* 7 (1980): 143–81; Bulgaria—Georgiev, "Za moneta cirkulacija," 223–29; Poland—M. Salamon, "The Byzantine Gold Coin Found at Żółków (Southern Poland), and the Problem of Light Weight Solidi in Central Europe," *Notae Numismaticae* 1 (1996): 97–108; M. Wołoszyn, "Monety bizantyńskie VI–VIII w. nad środkowym Dunajem i kwestia ich źródnicowania pod względem miejsca emisji," *Trudy VI Międzynarodowego Kongressa slawjanskoj archeologii* 5 (1999): 287–94; Wołoszyn, "Monety bizantyńskie z VI–VII w. W Polsce na tle środkowoeuropejskim," *Archeologia o początkach Słowian*, ed. P. Kaczanowski and M. Parczewski (Kraków, 2005), 637–80; M. Salamon and M. Wołoszyn, "Byzantine Coins from the 6th and the 7th Century Found in Poland and their East/Central European Context," in *XIV International Economic History Congress*, Session 30 (Helsinki, 2006); the Czech Republic—J. Militký, "Finds of Roman and Early Byzantine Gold Coins in the Territorz of the Czech Republic," *Sloveská Numizmatika* 17 (2004): 53–76; E. Kolníková, "Dalšia byzantská minca z hromadného v Zemianskom Vrbovku," *SN* 17 (2004): 210–12; Slovakia—Ondrouch, *Nálezy keltských*; A. Avenarius, "Byzantská minca v nomádskom prostredí na strednom Dunaj," *Slovenká Numizmatika* 10 (1989): 43–52; E. Kolníková, "Problémy tovarovo-penažných vzťahov na Slovensku 5. - 10. Storočí," *SN* 10 (1989): 25–30; D. Staššiková-Štukovská, "K formám výmrny a hodnoty tovaru v 6. a 7. storočí na Slovensku," *Slovenká Numizmatika* 10 (1989): 54–55; Fiala, "Byzantské mince," 57–64; A. Avenarius, *Byzantská kultúra v slovanskom prostredí v VI.–XII. Storočí k problému recepcie a transformácie* (Bratislava, 1992); A. Fiala, "Kontakt der Slowakei mit Byzanz im früheren Mittelalter im Lichte der Münzfunde," in *Mitteldonauegebiet und Südosteuropa im frühen Mittelalter Studia Archaeologica et Mediaevalia*, 1 (Bratislava, 1995), 47–55; Poland—Kolníková, "Problémy tovarovo-penažných," 30; D. Bialekova and A. Turpáková, "K otázke funkčnosti sekerovitých hriven z pomedima z hl'adiska ich metrologických hodnot," *SN* 10 (1989): 94. Scandinavia—I. Hammberg, B. Malm, and T. Zachrisson, *Byzantine Coins Found in Sweden. Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia repertis*. Nova series 2 (Stockholm-London, 1989), 9, 107108, table 7.1 and 7.2; B. Malmer, "What Does Coinage Tell Us about Scandinavian Society in the Late Viking Age?," in *From the Baltic to the Black Sea. Studies in Medieval Archaeology*, ed. D. Austin and L. Alcock (London and New York, 1990), 157; Finland—P. Sarvas, "Byzanttilaiset rahat sekä niiden jäljitelmät Suomen 900- ja 1000-lukujen löydöissä. Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja," *Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift* 75 (1973): 176–86; Talvio, "Coins and Coin Finds," 22 and 104–6.

638 S. Brather, "Früfmittelalterliche Dirham-Schatzfunde in Europa. Probleme ihrer wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Interpretation aus archäologischer Perspektive," *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 23 (1995–1996): 91, pl. 4; 99, pl. 7.

caliphs from the ninth–tenth centuries from the Sāmānid dynasty,⁶³⁹ largely documented in European regions. In this context, numismatic pieces of Arabic and Persian origin also appear in the Carpathian-Danubian regions. North of the Lower Danube, Arab coins are concentrated in two geographic areas: a. in the central areas of the regions east of the Carpathians; and b. along the river Tisza (Map 10).⁶⁴⁰ We have recorded and mapped over fifty such numismatic pieces from the eighth–tenth centuries from the regions included in this study, out of which twenty-six come from the hoards of Răducăneni and Echimăuți and twenty-five are from singular discoveries (Table 7). Most pieces (forty-seven) are silver coins (*darāhim*), as only two pieces are golden *danānir* and two are bronze *fulūs* (Table 6, 7, Chart 4, Maps 7, 9).

Six points at which discoveries of early Islamic coins are known are on the territories east of the Carpathians, issued during the period between the eighth century and the tenth century (Map 9).⁶⁴¹ On the northern edge of the village of Bosia, Iași county, Romania, two bronze coins minted in the year 750 were discovered, issued in the time of the caliph Marwan II (745–750), the last sovereign of the Umayyads' Omeiazi Dynasty.⁶⁴² Seven silver coins were part of the hoard from Răducăneni-Dealul Beșleaga, Iași county, Romania, and are chronologically earlier than the pieces of silver ornamentation (fifty-nine out of sixty-two objects),⁶⁴³ so it seems likely that they might not have circulated as coins, but instead were hoarded. The coins were issued between 757 and 806, in the time of the Abbasid caliphate with the capital in Baghdad, and involved one piece from the time of Al-Mansur (754–775) and Al-Mahdî (775–785) and five coins from the era Harun al-Rašid (786–809).⁶⁴⁴ Two other early Islamic coins were discovered in Iași county, namely a *dirham* with unknown issuers, in Șcheia,⁶⁴⁵ and a *dirham* from the emir Abud ad-Dauda (949–983) of the Fars region, recorded in Iacobeni, Vlădeni.⁶⁴⁶

639 V. V. Kropotkin, "Nahodki kufičeskikh monet v Prikarpat'e (SSSR)," *AAC* 11 (1969–1970); Kropotkin, "Vremea i puti proniknovenija kufičeskikh monet v Sredenee Pudinav'e," *Berichte über den II. Internationalen Kongreß für Slawische Archäologie*, 3 (Berlin, 1973); Kropotkin, "O topografii kladov kufičeskikh monet IX v. v Vostočnoj Evrope," *Drevnjaja Rus' i slavjane*, ed. T. V. Nokolaeva (Moskva, 1978); Teodor, "Legături economice," 263–68; Rabinovič, "Dirhemy"; Brather, "Früfmittelalterliche Dirham-Schatzfunde"; E. Nicolae, "Un dirhem din secolul al X-lea descoperit la Iacobeni, com. Vlădeni, jud. Iași," *Simpozion de Numismatică. Dedicat împlinirii a patru secole de la prima unire a românilor sub Mihai Voievod Vitezul Chișinău, 28–30 mai 2000. Comunicări, studii și note* (București, 2001).

640 Kovács, *Münzen*, pl. 30 and 34.

641 Langu, "Fenomenul teaurizării," 26; Langu, "Aspecte," 44.

642 O. Iliescu, "Însemnări privitoare la descoperiri monetare," *SCN* 1 (1957): 462; Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 80; Spinei, *Realități etnice*, 132.

643 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 78–80.

644 Teodor, "Cercetări în așezarea," 416–17, fig. 7/1–7; fig. 8/1–7.

645 Velter, *Transilvania*, 324; Langu, "Aspecte," 52, no. 9.

646 Nicolae, "Un dirhem," 95–96; Langu, "Aspecte," 52, no. 6.

The following two points where early Islamic coins have been discovered are in the Prut-Dniester space. In the settlements at Echimăuți and Alcedar twenty-one pieces were discovered dating from the first half of the tenth century (Map 9).⁶⁴⁷ The coin hoard at Echimăuți comprised pieces issued during 904–943, out of which four coins came from the time of the caliph Ismail Ibn-Ahmed in the city of Samarkand (a coin from 903–904, another from 905–906, and two from the years 892–907), a coin issued in the years 908–909, also in the city of Samarkand but in the era of caliph Ahmed Ibn-Isma'il, and fourteen coins from the time of caliph Nasr II Ibn-Ahmed (three coins from the years 925–926, 933–934, and 914–943 issued in Samarkand, two coins from the years 926–927 and 914–943 issued in the city of Balkh, seven imitations from the years 914–943, and two undetermined pieces).⁶⁴⁸ All these caliphs were part of the Sāmānid dynasty that ruled in Central Asia over a state with its capital in Bukhara, which included Transoxiana, Khorasan, and Tabirstan. Most of the coins from Echimăuți are perforated. The coins from Alcedar are isolated discoveries; a *fals*, issued in Tashkent in the reign of a sāmānid caliph, Nasr II Ibn-Ahmed (914–943), and an imitation of the sāmānid *dirham* minted in Suvar-Bulgar in 947/948, during the reign of the caliph Abdulah Ibn-Michael.⁶⁴⁹

The second group of early Islamic coins were found on the western part of the Tisza Plain, along the Tisza River, including one coin on the territory of the Czech Republic, fifteen coins on the territory of Hungary, and three coins in Serbia. Numismatic discoveries at Kisdobra-Kisdobra-*Ligahomok*, Dobrá, Bez. Trebišov, the Czech Republic, Karos-*Eperjesszög*, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, Sárospatak-*Baksahomok*, Borsod-Abaúj, Zemplén county, and Kenézlő-*Fazekaszug*, Borsod-Abaúj, Zemplén county, Hungary, constitute a regional subgroup of cemeteries, in which the coins were discovered in funeral inventories. In a cemetery dating from the tenth century in Kisdobra-*Ligahomok*, Czech Republic, one silver *dirham* was discovered, with four holes, from the Abbāsīd caliphs ABU'L-'ABBĀS AHMED B. TALHA AL-MU'TADID BI'LLĀH (279–289 H = 892–902), issued in San'ā'⁶⁵⁰ ṣi, four silver *darāhim*, with four holes each, from the Sāmānid emir ISMĀ'ĪL B. AHMED (279–295 H = 892–907), one issued in the year 280 H (= 893/894–901/902), and another in the year 293 H (= 902/903–907) in Shāsh.⁶⁵¹ In the cemetery at Karos-*Eperjesszög*, Hungary a *dirham* with four holes was discovered, dating from the rule of ABU'K-'ABBAĀS AHMED B. MUHAMMED AL-MUSTA'ĪN (248/252 H = 862–866), issued in 250/251 H = 864/866,⁶⁵² and another *dirham* with 4 holes was found, from the Sāmānid emir ISMĀ'ĪL B. AHMED (279/295 H = 892–907), issued in the year 393 H (= 905/906), (Table 7, Map 9).⁶⁵³ Early Islamic coins have also been discovered in different tombs in a

647 Nudel'man, *Topografija kladov*, 89–90.

648 Nudel'man, *Topografija kladov*, 90; Nudel'man, *Očerki istorii*, 86.

649 Nudel'man, *Očerki istorii*, 89–90; Nudel'man, *Očerki istorii*, 86; I. Tentiuc, *Populația din Moldova Centrală în secolele XI–XIII*, Iași, 1996, 133; Langu, "Aspecte," 51, no. 1.

650 Kovács, *Münzen*, 38, no. 148.

651 Kovács, *Münzen*, 38, no. 148–52.

652 Kovács, *Münzen*, 33, no. 116.

653 Kovács, *Münzen*, 33, no. 117.

cemetery from the tenth century in Sáros-patak-*Bakshomok*, Hungary: one *dirham*, with two holes, from the Sāmānid emir ISMĀ'ĪL B. AHMED (279–295 H = 892–907), issued in the year 288 H (= 900/901) in Samarkand, in the time of the Abbāsīd caliph Abu'l Abbās Ahmed b. Talha al-Mu'tadid bi'llāh (279–289 H = 892–902),⁶⁵⁴ one *dirham* with three holes, from the Sāmānid emir ISMĀ'ĪL B. AHMED (279–295 H = 892–907), issued in the year 295 H (= 907/908) in Andarāba, in the time of the Abbāsīd caliph Abū Muhamed, Alī b. Ahmed al/Muktafī bi'llāh (289–295 H = 902/908),⁶⁵⁵ and another *dirham* with two holes from the Sāmānid emir ISMĀ'ĪL B. AHMED (279–295 H = 892–907), issued in the year 295 H (= 907/908) in Andarāba during the reign of the Abbāsīd caliph Abu'l Abbās Ahmed b. Talha al-Mu'tadid bi'llāh (279–289 H = 892–902) issued in 290 H = 902/903 in Samarkand.⁶⁵⁶ Another six coins were discovered in Kenézlő-*Fazekaszug*, Hungary, out of which two were *darāhim* with four holes each, from the Sāmānid emir ISMĀ'ĪL B. AHMED (279–295 H = 892–907) and issued in Shāsh, one in the year 290 H (= 902/903) and the other in the year 291 H = 903/904,⁶⁵⁷ and a *dirham* with four holes, from the Sāmānid emir ISMĀ'ĪL B. AHMED (279–295 H = 892–907).⁶⁵⁸

To the south of this regional subgroup, at a greater distance from one another, other early Islamic coins have been discovered in funeral inventories. A *dirham* with two holes on the edge, from the Sāmānid emir ISMĀ'ĪL B. AHMED (279/295 H = 892–907), was discovered in a tomb from the tenth century at Eger-*Almagyar*, Heves county, Hungary.⁶⁵⁹ In another tomb in the cemetery at Kecskemét-*Orgovány*, Bács-Kiskun county, Hungary, a *dirham* with three holes, from the Sāmānid emir ISMĀ'ĪL B. AHMED (279/295 H = 892–907), was discovered, issued in Shāsh in an unknown year.⁶⁶⁰ An intact *dirham* from the Sāmānid emir ISMĀ'ĪL B. AHMED (279/295 H = 892–907), issued in Balkh in the year 293 H (= 905/906), was discovered in Ásotthalom-*Rívó*, Szeged-Királyhalom, Csongrád county, Hungary.⁶⁶¹

On the territory of the Vojvodina, near the Danube, three early Islamic (Arabic) coins have been discovered, out of which two were *danānir* issued in Bagdad between the years 762–775 in the reign of the caliph Al-Mansur (754–775), one in Irižac⁶⁶² and another in an unspecified location (Table 7, Map 9).⁶⁶³ Both gold coins were incised with graffiti on the reverse face, as on the Byzantine coins discovered in the Khazar cemeteries.⁶⁶⁴ The

654 Kovács, *Münzen*, 57, no. 283.

655 Kovács, *Münzen*, 57, no. 284.

656 Kovács, *Münzen*, 58, no. 299.

657 Kovács, *Münzen*, 36, no. 141–42.

658 Kovács, *Münzen*, 37, no. 143.

659 Kovács, *Münzen*, 25, no. 79.

660 Kovács, *Münzen*, 35, no. 123.

661 Kovács, *Münzen*, 16, no. 8.

662 N. Stanojević, "Nasela VIII–IX veka u Vojvodini," *RVM* 30 (1986–1987): 130–31.

663 Stanojević, "Nasela VIII–IX," 130–31.

664 Stanojević, "Nasela VIII–IX," 131.

third coin, issued in Baghdad at the time of the Abbāsīd caliph Musa al Hadi (785–787), was discovered in the locality of Maglić.⁶⁶⁵

The early Islamic coins from the eighth–tenth centuries discovered in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space have been assigned to the western edge of the spread of early Islamic coins into Europe.⁶⁶⁶ Some researchers link this phenomenon to the presence of a commercial route through the eastern Carpathians linking the Arab Caliphate and northern Europe. I believe that the role of the native population from the east of the Carpathians in the trade with the Arab Caliphate is exaggerated.

In the ninth–tenth centuries the development of the Arab Caliphate causes a dense network of roads between northern Europe and Arab traders. A secondary road seemed to pass close to Moldova and was ruled by the Woody Carpathians in the north. Northern region of Moldova, through which this route went, was not just transit, proved by the monetary discoveries and ingots from this area, often cut into irregular pieces, the population from the area accepted multiple forms of payment. The connection of the population to the great trans-continental trade occurred even at the height of the Dridu culture, i.e. during that demographic and economic boom. The way is eastern, near Moldova passing by one of the roads linking the Arab caliphate and the Baltic Sea. The coins of the caliphate, between 700–971, meet especially in the north and the west of Moldova, trying to supplement the lack of the Byzantine coins that were getting hard into those regions.⁶⁶⁷

It has also been stated, though, that a direct consequence of a significant reduction in the presence of Byzantine coins was its replacement by Arabic ones.⁶⁶⁸

The presence of early Islamic currency in the territories east and the west of the Carpathians during the eighth–tenth centuries may have resulted from many historical phenomena, such as contacts between the peoples of these regions and those of the Arabic and Persian environment through the Khazars and Bulgarians⁶⁶⁹ or the Russians.⁶⁷⁰ These relations have been both economic as well as politically or demographically related to the displacement of various communities of populations from Eastern Europe to the Central and Southeastern European regions during the migration of a number of Slavic tribes into the Dniesterian regions (the Tyvertsy and the Ulychs), of the Hungarians from Etelköz to Pannonia, or, later, of the Pechenegs and the Cumans from Eastern Europe to the Danubian regions.⁶⁷¹ Early Islamic coins could

⁶⁶⁵ Stanojević, “Nasela VIII–IX,” 130–31.

⁶⁶⁶ Brather, “Früfmittelalterliche Dirham-Schatzfunde,” 91, pl. 4.

⁶⁶⁷ Langu, “Aspecte,” 44, 46.

⁶⁶⁸ Langu, “Aspecte,” 47.

⁶⁶⁹ Kropotkin, “Vremea,” 198; Fëdorov, “Drevnerusskaja kul'tura,” 124.

⁶⁷⁰ G. B. Fëdorov, “Rabota slavjano-dnestrovskoj ekspedicii,” *KSIIMK* 44 (1952): 83–92.

⁶⁷¹ D. Gh. Teodor, “Câteva observații în legătură cu căldările de lut de la Răducăneni,” *SCIV* 14 (1963): 202.

have also come to the Danubian space as a result of trade between the Varangians and the Asiatic world,⁶⁷² or could have represented spoils of war for the Russians, taken from the Bulgarians on the Volga and reaching the Carpatho-Dniesterian areas during Russian campaigns towards Byzantium in the tenth century.⁶⁷³ An ample and constant trade over a long period between the early Islamic countries and the local population is hardly likely, due to the general and political context of these regions during the eighth–tenth centuries.

The role and function of early Islamic coins in these regions during the eighth–tenth centuries is hard to specify, as they had been used either as money in exchange relations or as pieces of adornment, clothing decoration, or even as hoarded capital thanks to the intrinsic value of the precious metal, used as raw material for jewellery. Most early Islamic coins known in the territories east and the west of the Carpathians are perforated. Such pieces, discovered in graves, were used as clothing decorations, which is characteristic of migrant populations, such as the Hungarians, who used not only Arabic but also Byzantine and Western European coins for this purpose. Most coins, discovered in tombs, are concentrated to the west of the Carpathians in the area settled by the Hungarian population. Early Islamic silver *darāhim* taken out of circulation, which had no nominal worth but only their intrinsic worth, were an object of the Asiatic trade.⁶⁷⁴ Muslim traders would buy out-of-circulation early Islamic coins and market them in other regions.⁶⁷⁵ Therefore both isolated and hoarded perforated coins may have been part of out-of-circulation coins hoarded and marketed for other purposes. Thus, silver coins constituted raw material for making jewellery pieces, a widespread practice for European populations involved in trade with the Islamic world. The use of early Islamic coins for chronological frameworks must thus be made with great caution, taking into account the archaeological context of every discovery. According to Dan Gh. Teodor, it is unlikely that, based on early Islamic coins, the hoard at Răducăneni had been buried in the second decade of the ninth century,⁶⁷⁶ but, instead, according to the typology of the pieces of adornment, it can be more accurately attributed to the first two decades of the tenth century.⁶⁷⁷

Another proof of the presence of Asiatic goods in the regions east of the Carpathians, apart from coins, are the silver ingots discovered in Alcedar, Echimăuți, and Răducăneni, as the weight of some of them is close to the *ounce* of Baghdad.⁶⁷⁸ Their discovery, together with the Arabic out-of-circulation silver coins, support the assumption that they were marketed to be used in making ornamentation. Jewellery pieces from the hoard

672 Nudel'man, *Očerki istorii*, 88; Rabinovič, "Dirhemy."

673 Nicolae, "Un dirhem," 98–99.

674 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 266.

675 Teodor, "Unele considerații," 417.

676 Teodor, "Unele considerații," 419.

677 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 80; Teodor, "Unele considerații," 420.

678 Teodor, "Unele considerații," 416, 419, fig. 7/8–11; fig. 8/8–11; Teodor, "Legături economice," 266.

at Răducăneni find their analogues in a number of fortresses from the tenth–eleventh centuries in Alcedar and Echimăuți that belonged to the living area of the Tyvertsy and Ulych tribes.⁶⁷⁹

In the eighth–ninth centuries the Arabic trade dominated the Asian markets and gradually expanded into Europe,⁶⁸⁰ but after the death of the caliph Moktafy (908–932) Arabic economic and political power began to decay. The studies by Th. S. Noonan on the circulation of Arabic coins in the Khazar Kaganate demonstrates that *dirhem* arrived in Eastern Europe only around the year 800, through the Caucasus-Caspian branch and the Khazar economy became dependent on this trade.⁶⁸¹ The Arabic coins discovered in cemeteries on the Tisza Plain were likely used as clothing decoration by representatives of the Hungarian community that had arrived in these regions at the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth century. Arabic gold coins dating from the eighth century discovered in the Vojvodina could have reached these regions as a result of contacts between the Avar and the Khazar Kaganates. Both coins and silver Arabic ingots discovered to the east of the Carpathians were hoarded, especially those found in Răducăneni and Echimăuți, as raw material for making jewellery pieces, and arrived in these places via the Russians.⁶⁸² We do not, however, exclude the possibility of using Arabic coins in exchange relations between local communities and foreign merchants in the eighth–tenth centuries, especially in trade relations between the Vikings and the Arabs, one of whose access roads could have passed through the regions east of the Carpathians.⁶⁸³

West European Coins. The problem of the penetration of Western European coins into the Carpathian Basin is not a new topic in the historiography. Several works on this issue have appeared in Hungary, Slovakia, and Romania. I. Gédai considers the beginning of the circulation of Western European *dinars* in the Carpathian Basin during and after the ninth–tenth centuries as being a result of the Hungarian robbery campaigns across Western Europe, the coins having been used by the Hungarians for purposes other than

679 S. S. Rjabceva, “Tezaurul Răducăneni (România) și cetățile circulare din spațiul Carpato-Nistrean,” *Tyragetia* 11 (2002): 271–76.

680 F. J. Himly, “Y a-t-il emprise musulmane sur l'économie des états européens du VIII^e au X^e siècle?,” *Revue suisse d'histoire* 5 (1955): 35–48; W. Łosiński, “Chronologia, skala i drogi napływu monet arabskich do krajów Europejskich u schyłku IX w X w.,” *Slavia antiqua* 34 (1993): 1–41.

681 T. S. Noonan, “Why Dirhams Reached Russia: the Role of Arab-Khazar Relations in the Development of the Earliest Islamic Trade with Eastern Europe,” *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984): 151–282; Noonan, “Fluctuations in Islamic Trade with Eastern Europe During the Viking Age,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 16 (1992): 237–59.

682 Oberländer-Târnoveanu, “Societate, economie,” 332; A. Nazmi, *Commercial Relations Between Arabs and Slavs* (Warshovia, 1998).

683 Curta, *Southeastern Europe*, 186; D. M. Metcalf, “Viking-Age Numismatics. 3. What Happened to Islamic Dirhams After Their Arrival in the Northern Lands?,” *The Numismatic Chronicle* 157 (1997): 295–335; D. Skre, ed., *Means of Exchange. Dealing with Silver in the Viking Age*. Kaupang Excavation Project Series 23, 2 (Norske Oldfunn, 2008).

economic ones in that period (clothing decorations, jewellery, etc.).⁶⁸⁴ The Hungarian appearance in Europe in the late ninth century and the early tenth century had a warrior character and was less focused on economic relations or peaceful order. M. Velter has approached the subject of Western European coins initially in a short article,⁶⁸⁵ and then in his monographic study, highlighting three periods: the Carolingian, the Hungarian, and that of the dinars of the Friesach type. The most comprehensive analysis of the numismatic situation in the Carpathian Basin in the period of the Hungarian settlement in Europe belongs to L. Kovács. The Hungarian numismatist highlights three groups of Western European coins: Italian, Frank, and German, mostly found within early medieval cemeteries. Out of the Italian strings of coins discovered in the cemeteries on the Pannonian Plain, those sourced from Milan, Pavia, Rome, and Verona from various kings, emperors, and popes stand out, starting with one piece from Sicone, Duke of Benevento (817–832), Ludvig II (855–875), Pope Nicholas I (858–867), Emperor Charles II the Bald (875–877), and Pope Sergiu III (904–911). The most pieces have been certified from the time of Berengar I, as king during (887–915) and as Holy Roman emperor (915–924), and from the time of Hugo de Provence (926–931). In many cases the graves contain coins from these two Italian kings, which speaks to the spoils from the frequent Hungarian incursions into the Italian territories in the first half of the tenth century.⁶⁸⁶ As for the coins of Frankish origin, though less numerous they also come from various kings and emperors: Louis the Pious (814–840), Charles the Bald, King (840–875) and Emperor (875–877), Charels the Great (884–888), Eudes (888–898), Charels (893–923), Wilhelm (918–926), Radulf de Burgund (923–936), and Louis IV (936–954). Coins of Frankish origin are often found in graves, frequently together with the Italian pieces.⁶⁸⁷ The coins of German origin are the most modest in terms of numbers, coming from various provinces and from various Bavarian kings since 862, Saxony since 906, Swabia since 909, Franken and Thuringia since 910, and so on. From the first half of the tenth century two pieces have been found on the Pannonian Plain from Ludwig Copilul (899–911) and Richwin de Strasbourg (913–933), as well as one coin from Henrich I (919–936) and six coins from Otto I (936–962).⁶⁸⁸ In terms of the geographical distribution of the Western European coins, L. Kovács highlights some regional groups, with most coins coming from the Transdanubian zone, then from between the Danube and the Tisza, and then from east of the Tisza and west of Eipel.⁶⁸⁹ Chronologically, the first Western European coins found in the regions east of the Tisza come from the second half of the ninth century. Most coins are thus from the Carolingian period, having been issued by various Frankish

684 I. Gédai, “Numismatica e antichità classiche,” *Quaterly Ticinensi* 14 (1985): 358.

685 A.-M. Velter, “Considerații de ordin economic și politic privind începutul pătrunderii monedelor vest-europene în Transilvania,” *CN* 7 (1996): 137–40.

686 Kovács, *Münzen*, 93–94, pl. 14, 15.

687 Kovács, *Münzen*, 99–103, pl. 15, 16,

688 Kovács, *Münzen*, 103–5, pl. 18, 16.

689 Kovács, *Münzen*, 118, pl. 26; 27.

kings in the context of the extension of the Eastern borders of the Frankish Kingdom to the valley of the Tisza and the Hungarian penetration into the Pannonian Plain.⁶⁹⁰ Generally, I have recorded and mapped nineteen such numismatic pieces in the regions east of the Tisza that find their analogies with other such discoveries west of the river (Table 6, Chart 6, Map 10).⁶⁹¹ Those two Frankish *dinars* from Louis II (855–875) and Charels the Great (879–884), now lost, came from a tomb in Jamu Mare, Timiș county⁶⁹² and have often been referenced in the specialized literature, but were actually fakes produced in France in the nineteenth century.

The number of West European coins increases in sites on the Pannonian Plain by the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth century, highlighting the coinage issues of the reign of the Frankish King Louis II (855–875), with two pieces,⁶⁹³ and of Longobard King Berengar I (888–915), with ten pieces.⁶⁹⁴ Such discoveries have been documented in a number of sites, particularly in the cemeteries on the Tisza Plain.⁶⁹⁵

Only two pieces from the category of non-perforated Western European coins have been found in Transylvania, namely a Milanese dinar, issued by Louis II (855–875), coming from a private collection in Orșova, and a German dinar, issued by Berthold, the Earl of Bavaria (938–947), coming from a private collection in Turda.⁶⁹⁶ The unclear provenance of these pieces, which are part of private collections, do not allow us to place them with certainty into the series of coins coming from the Banat.⁶⁹⁷ The appearance of Western European coins was related to political changes in the ninth century, so some pieces can be attributed to the extension of the eastern boundaries of the Frankish Kingdom to the valley of the Tisza and to the existing relationships between the Bulgarians and the Carolingian state in that period. I consider exaggerated the statement that Carolingian *dinars* would indicate a commercial direction starting from the West, traversing the Danube to the Black Sea, based on only a single coin from the Banat.⁶⁹⁸ Western European dinars are also rare in the regions west of the Tisza, their appearance in circulation in the region only demonstrated in the late twelfth century.⁶⁹⁹

Most monetary discoveries of Western European origin found on the Tisza Plain come from the funeral inventory of tombs from the tenth century, having two, three, or

690 Ph. Grierson, *The Coins of Medieval Europe* (London, 1991), 39–49; Velter, “Unele considerații”; Velter, “Considerații”, 197; Velter, *Transilvania*; Kovács, *Münzen*.

691 Kovács, *Münzen*, map 27.

692 Velter, “Unele considerații,” 252; Kovács, *Münzen*, 55; Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 50.

693 Kovács, *Münzen*, 51, 55.

694 Kovács, *Münzen*, map 27.

695 Kovács, *Münzen*, map 27.

696 Velter, “Considerații,” 137.

697 Kovács, *Münzen*, 51; Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 50.

698 Olteanu et al., “Structuri economice,” 62.

699 Velter, “Unele considerații,” 252.

four perforations which demonstrate their non-commercial use.⁷⁰⁰ The graves belonged to nomadic horsemen, having come into these regions together with the Hungarian displacement of the late ninth century and the first half of the tenth century. Such graves have been attested in cemeteries in the southern Czech Republic, southwestern Slovakia, in the central regions of Hungary, and in between the rivers Danube and Tisza, where they extend to the confluence of the Mures and the Tisza.⁷⁰¹ Sometimes Western European coins appear in graves alongside Arabic *dirham* from the tenth century, which suggests their use as clothing decoration and as pieces of harness, or jewellery, a specific tradition of the nomadic populations arriving in the late ninth century in the Pannonian regions. The nomads took possession of such pieces as a result of raids in Western Europe (into Italy, Bavaria, Burgundy, Thuringia, and France).⁷⁰²

The fact that most Western European coins were discovered in grave inventories and are perforated suggests their use as ornaments or as talismans. Scarcity and the context of appearance for these Western European coins exclude their participation in economic exchange until the beginning of the thirteenth century, when commercial relationships between urban centres in Western Europe and Transylvania have been demonstrated.⁷⁰³

The small number of Byzantine, Arabic, and Western European coins on the territories north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–ninth centuries allows us to support the idea of monetary circulation and trade relations based on the principle of goods-money exchange (Map 7). The analysis of monetary discoveries after this period's mintings proves to be more appropriate, both according to the area of circulation and in corroboration with other categories of imported items. In all likelihood, trade relations in this period were held mostly based on barter, a typical situation for societies with predominantly agricultural economies. This has been proven by different types of clothing and jewellery discovered in cemeteries north of the Lower Danube,⁷⁰⁴ representing imported items used, in all probability, in trade relations or brought by migrant communities.

Imported Goods

Pieces of foreign origin have also been discovered through archaeological investigation of sites dating from the eighth–ninth centuries north of the Lower Danube. This category includes articles of adornment and clothing made of glass and ferrous metals, usually copper and bronze, or, more rarely, of silver and gold.

700 Kovács, *Münzen*, 61, no. 324. Mentions by Iambor (Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 50) on other two coins from Szeged-Csongradi-út from the time of the Italian kings Hugo de Provența and Lotar II, and a coin from Sándorfalva, Csongrád megye from the time of Eudes de Aquitania (888–898), are wrong, such data do not exist in the study by Kovács, *Münzen* referred to (p. 55).

701 Velter, "Considerații," 137.

702 Velter, "Considerații," 138n10.

703 Velter, "Unele considerații," 252; Velter, "Considerații," 136.

704 See the details in Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*.

Most ornaments are singular discoveries, and only in two cases have been part of the hoards whose chronology is much discussed in historiography. The hoard at Sânnicolau, Timis county, discovered in 1799, consisted of twenty-three golden objects, some of which were vessels decorated with crosses, whose typology (bowls, pateras, mugs, cups) would suggest a probable liturgical use. There are inscriptions with Greek letters, one in Greek and another in a Turkic language. In all likelihood, the hoard was given by the Byzantines to some Avar governor, perhaps the rulers Builas (Voilà) and Butaul (Vataul), in their capacity as allies against the Bulgarians in the seventh–eighth centuries. This hoard has been in the focus of specialists' attentions for over 200 years, and over 150 works have been written about it, but a common view on the chronological and cultural frameworks of this unique discovery has not been reached as yet.⁷⁰⁵ The hoard is now in the collections of the Museum of the History of Art (*Kunsthistorisches Museum*) in Vienna, and a copy of the most important pieces are in the exhibitions of the Central Roman-Germanic Museum in Mainz (*Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum*). The second hoard, discovered by chance in 1969 in Răducăneni, Iași county, is composed of fifty-nine objects of adornment, seven silver Arabic *darāhim*, and four silver ingots.⁷⁰⁶ Out of the total number of recovered pieces of adornment, forty-eight are made of silver, nine are of bronze, and two of billon and potin.⁷⁰⁷

We distinguish two main classes of objects by their destination, pieces of adornment, and clothing accessories. The first class includes various types of earrings, pendants, beads, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and so on. The second class, clothing accessories, includes various types of buckles, belt appliques, belt buckles, buttons, and so on.

Objects of Adornment

This category includes, in particular, bracelets, earrings, rings, beads, and pendants, found in small numbers dating from this period. In Călărași, Botoșani county, Dodești, Izvoru, Giurgiu county, Răducăneni, Iași county, and Stoicani, Galați county bracelets made of silver, bronze or glass characteristic of the eighth–ninth centuries have been found, either intact or in fragments.⁷⁰⁸ Bracelets made of bars, circular in section, and beads made of metal decorated with granules have been certified from both hoards in Răducăneni and Echimăuți. The massive silver *toques* with noose ends from Răducăneni

705 Rusu, "Tezaurul de la Sânnicolau Mare"; Cs. Bálint, *Die Archäologie der Steppe. Steppenvölker zwischen Volga und Donau vom 6. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert* (Wien-Köln, 1989), 187–92; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit*, 310–11, no. 04–01–0590–01; Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 225–26.

706 D. Gh. Teodor, "Tezaurul de la Răducăneni-Iași," *SCIVA* 31 (1980): 403–23; Teodor, "Legături economice"; Spinei, *Realități etnice*, 133.

707 Teodor, "Tezaurul de la Răducăneni," 403.

708 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 79, fig. 43/7, 9, 13–17.

finds analogies with a piece discovered in Alcedar dating from the ninth century until the end of the ninth–tenth centuries.⁷⁰⁹

The most numerous and diverse category of pieces of adornment is earrings, which have great artistic and chronological value for the eighth–ninth centuries.⁷¹⁰ Most earrings are in the Byzantine style, and were widespread in territories outside the Empire as well (in the Moravian, Romanian, Bulgarian, and Slavic environments). We can distinguish two types of earrings according to their shape: crescent-shaped earrings and earrings with pendants made of granules.

Crescent-shaped earrings with a stellate pendant made of bronze and silver by casting. Such earrings were found in the Caraş-Severin county, Horodişte-În Mălăştie,⁷¹¹ Horodişte-În Bâtcă,⁷¹² Botoşani county, Izvoare-Bahna, Neamţ county,⁷¹³ Lazuri-Râitul lui Béla, Satu Mare county,⁷¹⁴ Moigrad-Porolissum, Sălaj county,⁷¹⁵ Noşlac, Alba county, Teiuş, Alba county,⁷¹⁶ Şicula-Paisa, Arad county,⁷¹⁷ and so on. The pieces from Teiuş and Noşlac represent earlier variants (seventh century to the beginning of the eighth century), which formed the basis of some types that evolved during the eighth–ninth centuries, such as, for example, the piece from Izvoru-Bahna.⁷¹⁸

Earrings with pendants made of granules. Different variants of pieces from this category have been found in Echimăuţi,⁷¹⁹ Ghirbom, Alba county,⁷²⁰ Izvoru, Giurgiu county,⁷²¹ Răducăneni, Iaşi county,⁷²² Revno,⁷²³ Chernivtsi region, Stoicani, Galaţi county,⁷²⁴ Udeşti, Suceava county,⁷²⁵ and so on.

The discovery of some moulds in the settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries north of the Danube suggests that these pieces of adornment, even if they are from a

709 Rjabceva, "Tezaurul Răducăneni," 275, fig. 1/10.

710 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 78.

711 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 78, fig. 38/2; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 103, no. 373.

712 RepBotoşani 1976, 200–201, no. XLIV.3.F; Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 198; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 103, no. 372, 373.

713 Mitrea, "Influenţe bizantine," 157, fig. 3/6.

714 I. Stanciu, "Contribuţii la cunoaşterea epocii romane în bazinul mijlociu şi inferior al râului Someş," *EN* 5 (1995): 144–45; Cosma, *Vestul şi nord-vestul*, 194, no. 105.

715 Matei, "Fortificaţiile," 479, Bejan, "Contribuţii arheologice," 233; Cosma, *Vestul şi nord-vestul*, 202.

716 RepAlba 1999, 129–31 and 189.

717 Cosma, *Vestul şi nord-vestul*, 231.

718 Mitrea, "Influenţe bizantine," 157.

719 Rjabceva, "Tezaurul Răducăneni."

720 Dulea, "Consideraţii," 221.

721 Mitrea, "Unele probleme," 451, 455, fig. 5.

722 Teodor, "Tezaurul de la Răducăneni," 404–8.

723 Mihajlina, *Naselennja*, 81, fig. 41/14.

724 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 148, no. 642.

725 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 78, fig. 38/3, 15.

Byzantine tradition, could have also been made locally. One similar mould was found in Costești, Iași county.⁷²⁶

Rings were made of silver or bronze, some having been decorated with carvings, granules, or semi-precious stones. Such rings were found in Călărași, Botoșani county,⁷²⁷ Răducăneni, Iași county, Stoicani, Galați county, Oncești, Bacău county,⁷²⁸ Spinoasa, Iași county, Alcedar, Echimăuți,⁷²⁹ Hligeni,⁷³⁰ and so on. The rings with a *chaton* discovered in Izvoare-Bahna, Neamț county,⁷³¹ Izvoru, Giurgiu county,⁷³² and Oncești, Bacău county,⁷³³ circulating in the region in the eighth–ninth centuries, are of particular interest.

In a series of early medieval sites north of the Lower Danube, as a result of archaeological investigations, beads were discovered, usually made of glass paste and worn as necklaces. Sometimes one or two beads of these necklaces were made of bronze or bone. Such discoveries are known in Alcedar, Călărași, Botoșani county,⁷³⁴ Hligeni,⁷³⁵ Hlincea, Iași county,⁷³⁶ Izvoru, Giurgiu county,⁷³⁷ Răciula, Călărași rayon, Răducăneni, Iași county, Rudi, Soroca rayon, Spinoasa, Stoicani, Galați county,⁷³⁸ Tanacu, Vaslui county,⁷³⁹ and so on. They can be attributed to a large group of pieces of glass, widespread in Eastern Europe in the eighth–tenth centuries, according to the shape and the technology of manufacture.⁷⁴⁰

The widespread and relatively well-known type of pendant from the studied period is the lunula pendant. Such pieces have been found in Băiceni,⁷⁴¹ Răducăneni, Iași county,⁷⁴² and in Echimăuți.⁷⁴³ Lunulae with two points worked through a printing-filigree covering like the pieces found in Răducăneni and Echimăuți, can be attributed to early variants from the late ninth century to the beginning of the tenth century, with

726 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 78.

727 Teodor, *Creștinismul*, 161.

728 Mitrea, "Influențe bizantine," 158.

729 Rjabceva, "Tezaurul Răducăneni," 275, fig. 1/5; fig. 2/11.

730 Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, 59, fig. CXXXIII/2.

731 Mitrea, "Influențe bizantine," 158, fig. 3/7.

732 Mitrea, "Unele probleme," 451.

733 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 79.

734 Teodor, *Creștinismul*, 161.

735 . Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, 59, 60, fig. 133, 2–3; 109/3; 104/1.

736 Chirica and Tanasachi, *Repertoriul arheologic*, 81–82; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 99, no. 354.

737 Mitrea, "Unele probleme," 451.

738 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 148, no. 642.

739 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 154, no. 671.

740 Z. A. L'vova, *Vostočnoevropejskie stekljanye ukrašenija VIII–XII vv.* (Leningrad, 1961), 6–10.

741 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 78, fig. 39/2.

742 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 8, fig. 39/1,5.

743 Rjabceva, "Tezaurul Răducăneni," 273.

analogies in Staré Město.⁷⁴⁴ The category of imported pieces also includes cross-shaped pendants, which probably arrived in the Carpathian-Danubian regions from south of the river. Such pieces have been found in settlements at Hlincea, Iași county, Dodești, and Murgeni, Vaslui county. In the settlement at Hlincea, Iași county, a lead cross was discovered, and in Dodești-Călugăreasca, Vaslui county,⁷⁴⁵ a cross of black basalt was found, both pieces being characteristic of the ninth–tenth centuries.⁷⁴⁶

Clothing Accessories

The best-known clothing accessories include belt buckles and appliqués. In the settlements at Călărași, Botoșani county,⁷⁴⁷ Horodiștea, Botoșani county,⁷⁴⁸ Izvoru, Giurgiu county,⁷⁴⁹ Bârlălești, Dănești, Dodești, and Lozna, appliques of different shapes and sizes, worked by casting and pressing, made of bronze and brass, and, in Răducăneni, some pieces made of gilded silver, were discovered.⁷⁵⁰ Belt appliques are characteristic of most Avar graves north of the Lower Danube.

Iron, bronze, or silver buckles, made by casting, have been discovered in settlements at Băiceni, Berești, Galați county, Dodești, Vaslui county, Erbiceni, Hlincea, Iași county, Izvoru, Giurgiu county, Răducăneni, Iași county, and elsewhere.⁷⁵¹ Some buckles were made locally, and others were imported, especially those that were lyre-shaped, a type well known in Europe in the eighth–ninth centuries.

Thus pieces of adornment, pieces of clothing, and coins constitute a special category of cultural goods that, by their make, could reach into the regions north of the Lower Danube as the result of social, economic, political, and military processes. Most of them have an important role in addressing issues regarding social, religious, and cultural identity.

Auxiliary Occupations

Hunting

The natural conditions characteristic of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space facilitated the practice of hunting and fishing during the eighth–ninth centuries. In most investigated sites the remnants of wild animals were found, with their proportion to domestic ones changing from one case to another. In early medieval sites, they are,

744 H. Chorvátová, “K relativnej chronológii pohrebiska Staré Město v polohe na valách,” *Acta Historica Neosoliensia* 7 (2004): 199–236.

745 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 62, 84, fig. 36/4.

746 Teodor, “Elemente,” 124.

747 Teodor, *Creștinismul*, 161.

748 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 103, no. 373.

749 Mitrea, “Unele probleme,” 451, 455–56, fig. 6.

750 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 78, fig. 41/1–5, 9–11.

751 Mitrea, “Unele probleme,” 451; Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 79, fig. 44/1–4, 7.

as a rule, less than 10 per cent. Thus, the proportions of remnants of wild mammals among the samples from Moldova are represented by the discoveries at Poiana-În Huci la Fedcu, Suceava county, and are at 8 per cent;⁷⁵² in Wallachia they are represented by the settlements at Bucov, Prahova county, and are 2.22 per cent; in Slon, Prahova county, they are 1.11 per cent; in Transylvania they are represented by those at Sânnicolau Român, Bihor county, with 2.33 per cent;⁷⁵³ and in the Prut-Dniester space by the discoveries at Alcedar, Șoldănești rayon, Durllești, Chișinău municipality, Echimăuți, Rezina rayon, Etulia, Gagauzia region, Hansca, Ialoveni rayon, Hligeni, Șoldănești rayon, Lucașeuca and Pohorniceni, Orhei rayon, Republic of Moldova, and Șabo, Odessa region, Ukraine, and in the northern part of the Bukovina by Rașkov, Dobrynovcy, Chernivtsi region, Ukraine and others.⁷⁵⁴

The most common species of wild animals hunted were large mammals (deer, wild boar, roebuck, aurochs) and, more rarely, carnivorous mammals (bears, wolves, wild cats). Forest species, such as deer, wild boar, and roebuck have been found more often.⁷⁵⁵ Thus we can conclude that hunting was characteristic for the inhabitants of the woodlands that occupied large areas in the Middle Ages.

Remnants of deer bones and antler (*Cervus elaphus* L.) have been found in settlements at Bezid, Mureș county, Bucov, Prahova county,⁷⁵⁶ Cefa-Ciciocoș, Bihor county,⁷⁵⁷ Gornea-Căunița de Sus, Caraș-Severin county, Slon, Prahova county,⁷⁵⁸ Poiana-În Huci la Fedcu, Suceava county,⁷⁵⁹ Rașkov I-Livada, Chernivtsi region, Ukraine, Vladimirescu, Arad county,⁷⁶⁰ and others. Archaeozoological research highlights a much broader deer range in the Middle Ages than their present geographic range.⁷⁶¹

Wild Boar (Sus scrofa ferus) have been widespread in Europe, and that is why it is also frequently found in early medieval settlements north of the Lower Danube, as has been proved by the discoveries at Bucov, Prahova county,⁷⁶² Cefa-Ciciocoș, Bihor county,⁷⁶³ Gornea-Căunița de Sus and Gornea-Zomonite, Caraș-Severin county, Izvoare-Bahna-La

752 Stanc and Bejenaru, "L'évaluation," 419.

753 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 146–47.

754 G. Cemărtan, "Răspândirea, densitatea și variabilitatea cerbului nobil (*Cervus Elaphus* L.) pe teritoriul interfluviilor Nistru-Prut în Holocen," *Tyragetia* 4–5 (1994–1995): 172; Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, 84–90.

755 Stanc, *Relațiile omului*, 226.

756 S. Haimovici, "Fauna din așezările feudale timpurii (secolele VIII–X) de la Bucov-Ploiești," *SCIVA* 30 (1979): 163–213.

757 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 183.

758 Haimovici, "Studiul materialului paleofaunistic."

759 Stanc and Bejenaru, "L'évaluation d'âge," 419.

760 Dulea, "Considerații," 250.

761 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 149, fig. 64.

762 Haimovici, "Fauna din așezările feudale."

763 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 183.

pod la Hărmănești, Neamț county,⁷⁶⁴ *Poiana-În Huci la Fedcu*, Suceava county,⁷⁶⁵ and *Vladimirescu*, Arad county,⁷⁶⁶ which largely coincides with the current range of wild boar.

Roebuck (*Capreolus capreolus*), a widespread animal in the forests from the north of the Lower Danube, has been found in the settlements at *Bucov*, Prahova county, *Cefa-Ciciocoș*, Bihor county,⁷⁶⁷ *Gornea-Căunița de Sus* and *Gornea-Zomonite*, Caraș-Severin county,⁷⁶⁸ and *Poiana-În Huci la Fedcu*, Suceava county.⁷⁶⁹

Aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), a forest animal today absent from the fauna of the north-Danubian area, has been found in settlements at *Bucov*, Prahova county⁷⁷⁰ and *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, Caraș-Severin county.⁷⁷¹

Hares (*Lepus europaeus*) live in most areas north of the Lower Danube, but the presence of bone remnants in early medieval settlements is rather low; they have been found only in a few cases (*Bucov*, Prahova county, and *Cefa-La Pădure*, Bihor county⁷⁷²).

Badgers (*Meles meles*), a widespread species especially in hilly areas, has been only rarely found in early medieval settlements. In the settlement at *Hligeni*, Soldanesti rayon, bones of badgers and wolves were found.⁷⁷³

Beavers (*Castor fiber*). The remains of beaver come from aquatic environments, as attested to in *Poiana-În Huci la Fedcu*, Suceava county.⁷⁷⁴ Beavers were trapped for fur and meat. This species became extinct in the early nineteenth century. In some settlements bone remnants from bears and foxes have been found, proving the hunting of these species by the population of the eighth–ninth centuries, such as at *Poiana-În Huci la Fedcu*, Suceava county.⁷⁷⁵

They were usually hunted with a bow and arrows and a spear. Arrowheads and spears, discovered in the settlements at *Dragosloveni-La Aguzi*, Vrancea county,⁷⁷⁶ *Fundu Herții-La Reduță*, Botoșani county,⁷⁷⁷ *Gornea-Căunița de Sus*, Caraș-Severin county,

764 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 90.

765 Stanc and Bejenaru, "L'évaluation d'âge," 420.

766 Dulea, "Considerații," 250.

767 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 183.

768 Dulea, "Considerații," 250.

769 Stanc and Bejenaru, "L'évaluation d'âge," 420–21.

770 Haimovici, "Studiul materialului paleofaunistic."

771 Dulea, "Considerații," 250.

772 Bejenaru, *Arheozoologia*, 52.

773 Cemărtan, "Răspândirea," 172; Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, 84–90.

774 Stanc and Bejenaru, "L'évaluation d'âge," 421.

775 Stanc and Bejenaru, "L'évaluation d'âge," 421.

776 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 83.

777 Petrescu-Dîmboviță and Teodor, *Sisteme de fortificații*, 53.

Lăpușel-Ciurgău, Maramureș county,⁷⁷⁸ Mânzătești-Cojocari, Vaslui county,⁷⁷⁹ Moldova Veche-Rât, Caraș-Severin county,⁷⁸⁰ Negrești-La Lutărie, Vaslui county,⁷⁸¹ Pir-Holmul Mare, Satu Mare county,⁷⁸² Popeni-Cuceu, Sălaj county,⁷⁸³ Alcedar-Odaia, Șoldănești rayon, Hansca, Ialoveni rayon, Hligeni-La șanțuri, Șoldănești rayon, Pererita-Pe șes and Trebujeni-Scoc, Orhei rayon, and so on, suggest that they could have been used both for military purposes and for hunting wild animals and birds.

Fishing

Due to the geographical conditions of the settlements located on the banks of rivers, lakes, streams, ponds, and the Black Sea, one of the traditional occupations of the inhabitants of the Carpathian-Danubian regions was fishing.⁷⁸⁴ Fish were part of the diet of the inhabitants, and in some cases, as it has been demonstrated, became an object of trade in the Middle Ages. This occupation has been proven by archaeological discoveries: fishing gear (hooks, harpoons, net weights) and the bones and scales of various fish. The rich and varied hydrographic network of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic territory made possible the presence of a wide variety of fish species. Fish bones are more fragile and have been preserved less often than those of mammals.

Fishing has played a special role in communities north of the Lower Danube since the ancient era. In the regions east of the Carpathians fishing was widely practiced, especially in those settlements located near ponds, Danubian lakes, the river Danube, the rivers Siret, Prut, Răut, and Dniester, the Black Sea coast, or other bodies of water, as evidenced by the remains of bones, fish scales, and fishing utensils found in Calfa-Cetățuie, Anenii Noi rayon,⁷⁸⁵ Izvoare-Bahna-La Pod la Hărmănești, Neamț county,⁷⁸⁶ Șabo, Odessa region,⁷⁸⁷ and so on. Fishing in Transylvania was especially common in the rivers Mureș, Olt, Someș, Crișurile, and others, with one example being the discoveries at Gornea-Zomonite, Caraș-Severin,⁷⁸⁸ Sănnicolau Român, Bihor county,⁷⁸⁹ Vladimirescu-La Cetate, Arad county,⁷⁹⁰ and others. In Wallachia, fishing was a priority occupation for the inhabitants of the settlements located near the Danube and the rivers Olt, Ialomita,

778 Dulea, "Considerații," 248.

779 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 116.

780 Dulea, "Considerații," 249.

781 Coman, "Contribuții," 76; Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 121.

782 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 213–14.

783 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 214–16.

784 G. Antipa, *Pescăria și pescuitul în România* (București, 1916).

785 Čebotarenko, *Kalfa*, 83.

786 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 53.

787 Smilenko and Kozlovskij, "Poselenija u sel Šabo," 109.

788 Dulea, "Considerații," 250–51.

789 Dulea, "Considerații," 250.

790 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 237, 238.

Arges, and so on. In the settlement at Bucov, Prahova county, during the eighth–tenth centuries, the remains of fish constitute 0.19 per cent of all the archaeozoological material found,⁷⁹¹ among which carp stands out.

Fishing tools. Another argument for the practice of fishing by the inhabitants of the regions north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries is the discovery of various types of pieces of metal, bone, and clay utensils that belong to the category of fishing tools. In all likelihood, fishing was done with nets, fishing rods, and harpoons. Fishing nets were made of twine and were different shapes and sizes, which, unfortunately, have not been preserved but that can be deduced from net weights made from rocks or pieces of clay.⁷⁹² Hooks for fishing rods were usually made of iron. In one of the dwellings in the settlement at Izvoare-Bahna-*La Pod la Hărmănești*, Neamț county, Romania, a bronze hook, supposedly for a rod, was discovered.⁷⁹³ The sizes of fishing hooks range between 5 and 10 cm in length, and A. I. Rafalovič has grouped them according to their mode of catching, into ear-shaped and fin-shaped hooks.⁷⁹⁴ Medium and large hooks were bent into the shape of an ear at the upper point to be better caught by the twine, and the small ones were fin-shaped with a widened end.

Fishing tools also included harpoons, made of both iron and horn. Metal harpoons were made of an iron head fitted with a hook at the sharp end at an angle, with a turned-back tip. The pieces made of antler were well-polished, with a perforated handle in order to strengthen it. Both harpoons were fixed onto a wooden tang. Their dimensions are different. In the settlements at Durlești-*Valea Babei*, Chișinău municipality and Rașkov I-*Livada*, Chernivtsi region, iron harpoons with a length of over 12 cm have been found.

Given the numerical ratio of the remains of animals from settlements of the eighth–ninth centuries, we find that during that period hunting and fishing were of secondary importance in the economics of survival practiced by the population north of the Lower Danube.⁷⁹⁵

In conclusion, we can say that the economy of the inhabitants north of the Lower Danube was complex. Agriculture, with two distinct branches (farming and livestock breeding), was the main economic activity, but we also record, compared to previous centuries, an increasing trend in craft occupations. The constructions of a productive character (workshops, kilns) and an increasing number of different tools show us not only economic development but also a diversification of economic activity throughout the studied period. The discovery of an impressive number of kilns for reducing iron ore and iron tools attest to a qualitative leap made by this craft. The recurrence of the potter's wheel produced a qualitative development and diversification in the forms of the vessels made by local craftsmen in the eighth and the ninth centuries. Technical innovations in iron and ceramics processing had a beneficial influence on the development of

791 Haimovici, "Fauna din așezările feudale."

792 Rafalovič, *Slavjane*, 124; Gol'ceva and Kašuba, *Glinžen' II*, 66; Dulea, "Considerații," 247.

793 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 53.

794 Rafalovič, *Slavjane*, 123, fig. 20/6–7.

795 Stanc, *Relațiile omului*, 225.

agricultural production, and the surplus of products facilitated the development of trade relations. The penetration of the Slavs and later of the Bulgarians into the regions south of the Danube gradually reduced contacts with Byzantine centres. Compared to the sixth–seventh centuries, the number of the Byzantine objects considerably decreases during the eighth–ninth centuries, reflecting the character and the low level of contacts between the regions north of the Danube and the Byzantine Empire in that period. At the same time, a particular interest of the Avars, the Bulgarians, and later of the Hungarians was control of the trade in salt from the Carpathian regions into Central and Southeastern Europe. Demographic and economic changes in some regions, rich in salt deposits, north of the Lower Danube, were due, in all likelihood, to the interest of European powers of that time in both operating and controlling the salt trade and the other riches present in the regions north of the Lower Danube.

What we have recounted in this chapter are some generalizations regarding the economic development of the communities north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–ninth centuries. The situation revealed by research on sites from the studied period demonstrates a qualitative evolution of most economic occupations as compared to the previous centuries. Thorough studies are needed for a better knowledge of the economic field of various aspects of human occupations, such as nutrition, clothing, and other traditions characteristic of early medieval society in the Carpathian-Danubian regions.

Chapter 4

SPIRITUAL LIFE

Religious Beliefs

The last quarter of the first millennium and the beginning of the second millennium are characterized by a confrontation between pagan beliefs and Christianity. Converting European peoples to Christianity proved to be a quite lengthy and complex process.¹ The Christianization of the pagan European peoples was largely achieved “from above,” which is to say by the conversion of leaders, which led to the conversion of their subjects; this was the case, for example, for the Czechs, the Bulgarians, the Russians, the Hungarians, and many others.

The emergence and spread of Christianity in the Carpathian-Danubian regions was not the result of some officially imposed action or through organized missionary activities,² which led to the uneven and delayed conversion of the population in these regions.³ The advancement of Christianity north of the Lower Danube in the early medieval period must be understood in terms of the process of converting to the new religion of the neighbouring peoples. The Bulgarian Khan Boris was baptized in the summer of 865 by a bishop at the head of a group of clerics sent from Constantinople for this occasion, and Emperor Michael III was the godfather of the baptism, which was why the Khan, in all probability, took Michael as his Christian name. After the Christianization of the Bulgarians, there was a thaw in Bulgarian-Byzantine relations. Thus the official Christianization of the Bulgarians, carried out with the direct contribution of Byzantium, had a direct impact on the process of the advancement of Christianity in the territories north of the Lower Danube after the second half of the ninth century.⁴ P. Iambor noticed, correctly, that in the Romanian historiography, probably for fear of political interference, “they pass too easily over explaining the origin of some medieval institutions, especially the adoption of the Slavonic language in the church, culture, and the medieval Romanian chancery.”⁵ The absence of sufficiently developed political entities in the Carpathian-Danubian regions during the eighth–ninth centuries excluded this area from the direct

1 V. V. Majko, “Hristijanizacija tjurko-bolgar Krimu v svitli arheologičnih džeres (na prikladi pohoval'nogo obrjadu),” *Arheologija* 4 (Kiev, 1995): 75–81.

2 Teodor, *Creștinismul*, 13; Teodor, “Creștinism și păgânism la est de Carpați în a doua jumătate a mileniului I d. Hr.,” *Pontica* 28–29 (1995–1996): 216.

3 N. Zugravu, *Geneza creștinismului popular al românilor* (București, 1997), 447.

4 A. D. Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană, Dacia anteromană, Dacia Romană și năvălirile barbare 513 înainte de Hr.–1290*, 1, ed. a IV-a (București, 1985), 271; V. Spinei, “Circulația unor piese de cult în regiunile românești nord-dunărene în secolele X–XVII,” *AM* 15 (1992): 153–75, 160; Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 231.

5 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 230.

attention of Byzantium and only to the extent that some areas were under Bulgarian influence or domination did they enter the sphere of Christian influence.⁶ The situation changed only after the fall of the Bulgarian Khanate when Byzantium restored its dominance in the Danubian regions.⁷

In the absence of written sources, the reconstitution of the traditions of spiritual life during the eighth–ninth centuries in the territories north of the Lower Danube can be achieved only on the basis of archaeological data: the study of objects with Christian character and the analysis of funeral rites and rituals practiced by human communities in this period of time.

Therefore, the elements of Christian religion can be seen on the territories north of the Lower Danube on the basis of rites and funerary rituals visible via tombs and cemeteries. Cult objects also prove the presence of Christianity; however, there were still few of these in the eighth–ninth centuries. The category of cult objects includes, for example, small crosses. In Dodești-*Călugăreasca*, Vaslui county, a basalt cross with an eyelet on one arm, similar to the piece found at Murgeni, Vaslui county,⁸ was discovered. In the settlement at Dodești, they discovered a lead beaded spindle weight with two incized crosses on it.⁹ Most such pieces came from the southern Danubian regions.

Based on the materials published so far, we have managed to record 389 known funerary discoveries in the Carpathian-Danubian space dated from the end of the seventh century to beginning of the tenth century. Among them, 221 cemeteries, seventy-nine singular graves, and eighty-nine uncertain funerary discoveries stand out (Table 2, Chart 2, Map 5).

The category of cemeteries includes the discoveries of graves attested to as part of larger sites or located in the vicinity of settlements and hillforts. The size of cemeteries varied depending on the extent of the excavations, but medium-sized cemeteries predominated both in the seventh–eighth centuries¹⁰ and in the ninth–tenth centuries.¹¹ The existence of some small cemeteries might indicate either the size of the community or frequent changes of the main locus of settlements.¹²

Singular graves are usually discovered fortuitously, as a result of some construction or agricultural work. Uncertain funerary discoveries include pieces discovered by chance, which could have come from the inventories of various tombs (metal pieces, whole or fragmented bowls, human bones, etc.). Most of these date from the nineteenth

6 Xenopol, *Istoria românilor*, 297–302.

7 C. H. Opreanu, *Transilvania la sfârșitul antichității și în perioada migrațiilor. Schiță de istorie culturală* (Cluj-Napoca, 2003), 46–47.

8 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 84, fig. 36/4.

9 Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 84, fig. 36/9.

10 O. Dulea, “Considerații privind locuirea în Banat și Transilvania în secolele VII–VIII d. Hr. (II. Necropole și morminte izolate),” *Sargetia* 30 (2001–2002): 209.

11 C. Cosma, “Necropole, morminte izolate și descoperiri funerare cu caracter incert din secolele al IX-lea și al X-lea din *Vestul și nord-vestul*,” *EN* 11 (2001): 166.

12 Ioan Stanciu, “Teritoriul nord-vestic al României și Khaganatul Avar,” *AMP* 23 (2000): 424.

century or the early twentieth century. Often discovered are bowls, alleged funerary urns, which do not differ from the types of pottery characteristic to that period. The uncertain character of the discoveries in this category imposes some reservations regarding their integration into statistics and general analysis. Allegations that these discoveries were part of cemeteries remain to be confirmed by archaeological excavations.

In terms of funerary rites practiced by the communities in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space during the eighth–ninth centuries, we can distinguish three categories: incineration, inhumation, and biritual (Table 3, Chart 3, Map 6). A rite dissimilar to those mentioned is the symbolic funeral (cenotaphs), found in some cemeteries north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–tenth centuries. The variety of funerary rites and rituals in this area reflects the diversity of the religious beliefs shared by the inhabitants of these regions. This situation has caused active debate in the European historiography regarding the ethnic, cultural, and religious attributions of funerary discoveries.

Dan Gh. Teodor holds that a profound change in mentalities becomes possible over a long period of time¹³ and believes that this should explain biritualism, a conspicuous feature of the eighth–ninth centuries.¹⁴ Recognizing the unsatisfactory state of the research on this issue, the Romanian archaeologist had earlier said that, in the eighth–ninth centuries, “the inhumation of Christian character became predominant east of the Carpathians,”¹⁵ while the archaeological data known so far do not allow us to support this view. Al. Madgearu attributes the phenomenon of biritualism to the mixing of populations,¹⁶ and this opinion is supported by the available evidence regarding the context of the analysis of spiritual life in the Prut-Dniester space.¹⁷ Dulea states that, in the seventh–eighth centuries, the rite of inhumation, characteristic to the Avars, predominated in Pannonia, while the rite of incineration was predominant in Moldova and that of biritualism was most used in Wallachia, which largely coincides with the data registered and mapped by our investigations (Tables 2, 3, Maps 4, 5). Analysis of funerary rites and rituals from the Carpathian-Danubian space during the early Middle Ages shows us changes in the religious order in this region. Movement from one rite to another and, eventually, to other beliefs, moved slowly, as reflected by a gradual renunciation of incineration in favour of inhumation, which became the main funerary rite only in the eleventh century.¹⁸

Funerary Rites and Rituals

Incineration Cemeteries

In the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space, twenty-six points with incineration graves and cemeteries have been attested overall, which can be divided into two categories: flat

13 D. Gh. Teodor, “Unele precizări privind începuturile creștinismului la est și sud de Carpați,” in *Credință, istorie și cultură la Dunărea de Jos* (Galați, 2005), 21.

14 D. Gh. Teodor, “Preliminariile culturii vechi românești,” *Mousaios* 6 (2001): 95.

15 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 24.

16 Madgearu, *Rolul creștinismului*, 99–106.

17 Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 86–106.

18 Cosma, “Necropole, morminte izolate,” 173.

graves and tumulary graves¹⁹ (Table 5, Map 6). These include cemeteries at Alcedar, Rezina rayon, with 254 graves,²⁰ Belaja-Carina, Chernivtsi region, with two graves,²¹ Černovka, with ten graves,²² Dăbâca, Cluj county, with sixteen graves,²³ Revno, with fifty-four graves,²⁴ Ostrovu Mare-Vad al Morii Țigănași, Mehedinți county, with three graves,²⁵ Someșeni, Cluj county, with eight tumuli, Soporul de Câmpie-Poderei, Cluj county, with thirteen (fourteen) graves,²⁶ Soporul de Câmpie-Răzoare-Sânișoara, Cluj county, with two graves,²⁷ Tichilești, Brăila county, with ninety (ninety-six) graves,²⁸ Turdaș-Valea Clociță, Alba county, with eighteen graves,²⁹ and Gorišnie Širovcy, with one tumulus.³⁰ One incineration urn was discovered at Baci, Cluj county,³¹ Bistreț-Dănilă, Dolj county,³² Halta Dodești-CFR Dodești, Vaslui county,³³ Irina, Satu Mare county,³⁴ Dorobanțu, Călărași county,³⁵ and Galați-Valea lui Tuluc, Galați county, respectively.³⁶ A few points with traces of incineration are known in the literature, although their numbers and the context of discovery are unspecified; such is the case at Apahida, Cluj county,³⁷ Bistrița,

19 Dulea, "Considerații," 211–12; Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 94–95; S. Barachi, "Observații asupra necropolelor din epoca feudală timpurie din Dobrogea," *SCIVA* 28 (1977): 403–17.

20 Fëdorov and Čebotarenko, *Pamjatniki drevnih*, 101–3.

21 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 35, 99.

22 Mihajlina, *Naselennja verhn'ogo Popruttja*, 73–74.

23 Dulea, "Considerații," 225; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 99; I. M. Țiplic, "Necropolele de tip Mediaș din Transilvania," *AMN* (2005): 18.

24 Mihajlina, *Naselennja verhn'ogo Popruttja*, 70–72.

25 V. Boroneanț, "Cercetări periegetice pe malul Mării Negre între Constanța și Vama Veche," *Pontica* 10 (1977): 324; A. Stoia, "Les fouilles archéologiques en Roumanie (1976)," *Dacia N.S.* 21 (1977): 366, no. 84; V. Boroneanț, I. Stîngă, "Cercetările privind secolul al VII-lea de la Ostrovu Mare, comuna Gogoșu, din zona Hidrocentralei 'Porțile de Fier II,'" *Drobeta* 3 (1978): 87–107.

26 D. Protase and I. Țigăra, "Șantierul arheologic Soporul de Cîmpie (r. Turda, reg. Cluj)," *MCA* 6 (1959): 393; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 102.

27 RepCluj 1992, 368; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 102.

28 Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 118, no. 33, 425–27.

29 I. Hica and Mihai Blăjan, "Un cimitir de incinerare din sec. VIII la Turdaș (jud. Alba)," *AMN* 10 (1973): 641–52; Blăjan and Botezatu, "Studiul arheologic," 455; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 102.

30 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 149 and 151, fig. 48/G.

31 RepCluj 1992, 42, no. 2.

32 A. Barnea, "Cronica cercetărilor arheologice efectuate în 1991 de institutul de arheologie din București," *SCIVA* 4 (1992): 434, no. 5.

33 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 22, 24, 98, no. 346.

34 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 193–94, no. 104; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 246, no. XI.1.

35 N. Anghelescu, "Un mormînt de incinerare din epoca feudală timpurie descoperit la Dorobanțu," *SCIV* 2 (1963): 437–39; Fiedler, *Studien in Gräberfeldern*, 116, no. 11, 451.

36 I. T. Dragomir, "Descoperiri arheologice pe actualul teritoriu al Galațului din cele mai vechi tipuri și pînă la întemeierea orașului," *Danubius* 1 (1967): 188; Constantinescu, "Aspecte privind evoluția," 217, no. 57:a.

37 Florin Salvan and Florea Costea, *Civilizație și continuitate românească în Țara Bârsei din cele mai vechi timpuri, până spre amurgul evului mediu timpuriu* (Brașov, 1999), 118.

Bistrița-Năsăud county,³⁸ Petrisat-Valea Secoi, Alba county,³⁹ Porumbenii Mici-*Galath*, Harghita county,⁴⁰ Roșiești-*Gară*, Vaslui county,⁴¹ Șendreni-*Pepenieră*, Galați county,⁴² Uioara de Jos-*Pârloage*, Alba county,⁴³ and Vinețești-Cordeni-Popești, Vaslui county.⁴⁴

Graves

Graves can be analysed on the basis of the cemeteries at Cobusca Veche, Anenii Noi rayon,⁴⁵ Chișcani, Brăila county, Sopor de Câmpie-*Poderei*, Cluj county, Turdaș-*Valea Clocită*, Alba county, Uioara de Jos-*Pârloage*, Alba county, Ostrovu Mare, Mehedinți county, Revno, Chernivtsi region, and Tichilești, Brăila county; solitary graves of this type have also been discovered at Baciu, Cluj county, Bistrița, Bistrița-Năsăud county, Irina, Satu Mare county, Bistreț-Dănilă, Dolj county, Dorobanțu, Călărași county, Belaja-*Carina*, Chernivtsi region, Galați-*Valea lui Tuluc*, Galați county, Halta Dodești-*CFR Dodești*, Vaslui county, Sopor de Câmpie-*Răzoare*, Cluj county, and Vinețești-*Cordeni-Popești*, Vaslui county (Table 5, Map 5).

The majority of such graves found are circular or oval pits, with a diameter ranging from 0.3 to 0.4 m, with some minor exceptions. The depth of the pits is usually insignificant, ranging between 0.20 to 0.50 m. Flat incineration graves are divided into three categories by method of placing the ashes:⁴⁶

1. graves with ashen remains deposited directly onto the bottom of the pit (Revno, Chernivtsi region, Chișcani, Brăila county, Șendreni-*Pepenieră*, Galați county);
2. graves with ashen remains placed in urns (Sopor de Câmpie-*Răzoare*, Cluj county, Tichilești, Brăila county, Turdaș-*Valea Clocită*, Alba county);
3. and graves with ashen remains in both the urns and in the pit (Turdaș, Alba county).

Graves with urns can, in their turn, be divided into urns with covers and those without covers. Large fragments of pottery, stone slabs, or bricks were usually used for a cover. The depositing of ashen remains directly into the pit is characteristic of the first category, while in the second category the funeral remains were placed first in the urn and then the urn was placed in the pit, whereas in the third category the calcined bones

38 O. Dulea, "Considerații privind locuirea în Banat și Transilvania în secolele VII–VIII d. Hr. (II. Necropole și morminte izolate)," *Sargetia* 30 (2001–2002): 224; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 98.

39 Blăjan and Botezatu, "Studiul arheologic," 457.

40 Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 100.

41 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 140, no. 593.

42 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 150, no. 653.

43 K. Horedt, "Ein Friedhof des 9.–10. Jahrhunderts aus Mediaș (Zentralrumänien)," in *Ier Congrès International d'Archéologie Slave, Varsovie, I, 1965*, Band 5 (Wrocław-Warszawa-Krákov, 1965), 444–47; RepAlba, 196, no. 196, 8; Blăjan, Dan Botezatu, "Studiul arheologic," 453.

44 D. Gh. Teodor, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Cordeni (jud. Vaslui)," *MCA* 9 (1970): 325–28.

45 G. P. Sergeev, "Raskopki srednevekovogo poselenija v Kobuska-Veke (Moldavskaja SSR)," in *Materialy i issledovanija po Arheologii Jugo-Zapada SSSR i Rumynskoj Narodnoj Respubliki* (Kișinev, 1960), 297–307.

46 C. Isăcescu, "Noi date privind necropola feudală timpurie de la Frățești, jud. Giurgiu," *CA* 5 (1982): 208; I. M. Țiplic, "Necropolele de tip Mediaș din Transilvania," *AMN* (2005): 14.

were put in the same grave, both into the pit and into the urn. The graves where calcined bones were deposited directly on the bottom of the pit, accompanied by pottery fragments and without any object, offering, or other funerary inventory in the cemetery at Revno, Chernivtsi region, are similar to those from that at Chișcani, Brăila county, and belong to the third and the fourth categories of the classification proposed by I. Cîdea.⁴⁷ In some incineration cemeteries inhumed children's graves have also been discovered, such as those at Tichilești, Brăila county.⁴⁸

The funerary inventory, deposited into a pit or an urn, was typically quite modest and consisted of metal (knives, lighters) and clay (weaving loom weights, sometimes pieces of burned clay) objects. Animal and bird meat offerings were often discovered. In thirty-nine graves in the cemetery at Revno, 75 per cent of the total pottery fragments were discovered, among which there was pottery made on a wheel (43 per cent), and there were only nine cases with handmade ceramic and only six cases of combined ceramics (15.38 per cent). Based on the discovered material, Romanian archaeologists attribute flat incineration cemeteries in Transylvania, including the graves at Ostrovu Mare, Mehedinți county, to the time span between the seventh and the ninth centuries, and the cemeteries from the area near Brăila and the eastern region of the Bârlad Plateau to the eighth–ninth centuries. Vessels discovered in Cobusca Veche, Anenii Noi rayon⁴⁹, are characteristic of the eighth–ninth centuries and are allegedly funerary urns, so there might be graves belonging to a cemetery.⁵⁰ Funerary discoveries from this category at Revno⁵¹ and Belaja-Carina⁵² have been assigned to the ninth–tenth centuries based on the materials discovered.

Based on the evolution of rituals involving the deposit of ashen remains into pit, both of incineration and biritual cemeteries, Dulea sought to distinguish three chronological stages—the seventh–eighth centuries, the eighth century, and the eighth–ninth centuries—that corresponded to the order of their development; however, the proposed chronological frameworks remain relative.⁵³

Tumulary incineration graves are known in the discoveries at Alcedar, Rezina rayon,⁵⁴ Apahida, Cluj county,⁵⁵ Černovka,⁵⁶ Gorišnie Širovcy,⁵⁷ Chernivtsi region, Nușfalău, Sălaj county,⁵⁸ and Someșeni, Cluj county⁵⁹ (Map 6).

47 I. Cîdea, *Brăila. Origini și evoluție până la jumătatea secolului al XVI-lea*, (Brăila, 1995), 38.

48 Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 118, no. 33, 425–27.

49 Sergeev, “Raskopki srednevekogo,” 297–307.

50 Postică, *Civilizația medievală*.

51 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 35, fig. 13/B.

52 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 35, 99.

53 Dulea, “Considerații,” 211.

54 I. Hîncu, “Cu privire la cultura materială a românilor din Moldova în evul mediu timpuriu,” *TD* 17 (1996): 218.

55 Salvan and Costea, *Civilizație*,” 118.

56 Mihajlina, *Naselennja verhn'ogo Popruttja*, 73, fig.:37, 38.

57 Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 149 and 151, fig. 48/G.

58 Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 116, 417.

59 Cosma and Gudea, *Habitat*, 112; RepCluj 1992, 362, no. 9; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 94–96.

The number and size of graves in this category vary from case to case (Table 5). The tumuli at Someșeni, Cluj county, had a diameter of between 14 and 20 m and a height of 0.5–2.0 m, and contained incineration graves deposited on wooden platforms. The edges of tumuli were always separated by sandy yellow earth, specially brought and arranged in the shape of a ring around the wooden construction. The tumuli were built from yellowish or gray argillaceous earth, also brought especially for this purpose, mixed with grass and wood chips to give it greater strength. Above the wooden construction, a sort of dome was formed to defend it.⁶⁰ On the flat surface, a rectangular pit with a diameter of 1.5 to 3 m and a depth of 0.3–0.5 m was dug. Above the pit, a wooden overpass was set up supported by wooden poles placed vertically in the corners of the pit. Ashen remains, funerary inventory, and offerings were put on the wooden overpass and then a mound of earth was raised.⁶¹ The diameter of the tumuli in the cemetery at Černovka varies between 3 and 5 m, and their actual height is 0.2 to 0.5 m. Every grave, both at Černovka and at Gorišnie Širovcy-Čubotarka,⁶² is surrounded by a cut groove 0.2–0.4 m deep and 0.5 m wide. Funerary deposits were not found in the large pits at the base of the tumulus. 0.20 m 0.40 m deep. The number of pits in the graves at Černovka varied between one and three to even more, and in the case of the tumulus at Gorišnie Širovcy-Čubotarka only by two were pits discovered. The deposit of a skull at Nușfalău, Sălaj county, finds similarities with a discovery from an incineration cemetery at Castelu, Constanța county.⁶³

The inventory of tumularly incineration graves is relatively poor. The graves at Apahida, Nușfalău, and Someșeni, apart from funerary urns and pots with offerings, also contained metal objects (appliques, earrings, buckles, and silver and bronze appliques, knives, and circles of wooden buckets). The tumuli at Černovka contained stones, charcoal, ash, and small fragments of calcined bones. In the pits at the base of the tumuli at Černovka calcined bones and fragments of pottery were discovered, and in the holes in the base of the tumulus at Gorišnie Širovcy-Čubotarka charcoal and fragments of small calcined bones were found. In the pits and in the cut grooves of graves no. 1, 3, 8, and 10 in the cemetery at Černovka, fragments of handmade pottery and pottery made on a wheel were discovered. In the graves at Alcedar pots made on a potter's wheel and decorated with strips of straight and wavy lines were discovered. Cemeteries should be understood in relation to nearby settlements, but highlighting issues of the ethnic order within these settlements is quite complicated to undertake for the moment, because the material culture of the eighth–ninth centuries was a complex phenomenon spread across a large area of Southeastern Europe. The attempt to make an ethnocultural attribution based on the proportion of handmade to wheel-made pottery is too risky.⁶⁴ If,

⁶⁰ Cosma and Gudea, *Habitat*, 112; RepCluj 1992, 362, no. 9; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 94–96.

⁶¹ Dulea, "Considerații," 212.

⁶² Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja obščina*, 149 and 151, fig. 48/G.

⁶³ Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 116, 417.

⁶⁴ S. Băcucț-Crișan and D. Băcucț-Crișan, *Cercetări arheologice pe teritoriul orașului Zalău. Descoperirile neo-eneolitice și medievale timpurii (sec. VII–XI)* (Zalău, 2003), 55–56.

in the sixth–seventh centuries, Slavic ceramics bore some special features compared to local ones, then during the eighth–ninth centuries both Slavs and Romanic peoples used similar technologies to make pots, and anthropological analyses show a mixing of the populations in this period.⁶⁵

Incineration cemeteries dating from the eighth–ninth centuries in Transylvania were included by K. Horedt into the so-called *Nuşfalău-Someşeni*⁶⁶ group, which denotes a continuation of the burial traditions of the cemeteries in the Gâmbaş group.⁶⁷ The discoveries at Bukovina, Černovka, and Gorišnie Širovcy are also associated with this group of cemeteries from Transylvania, which, taken together, find analogies among the Western Slavs.⁶⁸ In all likelihood, these Slavic communities came to Transylvania and Bukovina from the northwest and moved southeast in the context of the socio-political transformations occurring during the second Avar Kaganate in the eighth–ninth centuries, the more so since, in some tumularly graves, pieces in the Avar style (belt appliques of the Keszthely type) and horse bones have been discovered. In terms of chronology, based on the discovered materials, we can say that these cemeteries date from the eighth–tenth centuries, while the cemeteries in Transylvania (Apahida, Cluj county, Nuşfalău, Sălaj county, and Someşeni, Cluj county) date from the eighth–ninth centuries, while those from the Bukovina (Černovka, Gorišnie Širovcy, Chernivtsi region) and the Prut-Dniester space (Alcedar, Rezina rayon) date from the ninth–tenth centuries. Thus, tumularly incineration cemeteries in Transylvania can be attributed to Slavic communities that came from Moravia during the eighth century, during the era of conflict between the Moravians and the Avars.⁶⁹ The cemetery at Alcedar, Rezina rayon, in the depression of the Răut, appeared as a result of the displacement of a new wave of Eastern Slavs in the second half of the ninth century, whose presence is reflected in the sites and the culture of *Alcedar-Echimăuți*.⁷⁰

Biritual Cemeteries

Biritual cemeteries have been demonstrated in the Carpathian-Danubian space during the seventh–tenth centuries, with their appearance being accounted for by clashes

⁶⁵ O. Necrasov and M. Cristescu, “Analiza antropologică a osemintelor descoperite la Dridu,” in *Săpăturile de la Dridu. Contribuție la arheologia și istoria perioadei de formare a poporului român*, ed. E. Zaharia (București, 1967), 200; D. Nicolăiescu-Ploșor and W. Wolski, *Elemente de demografie și ritual funerar la populațiile vechi din România* (București, 1975).

⁶⁶ K. Horedt, “Die Brandgräberfelder der Mediaşgruppe aus dem 7.–9. Jh. In Siebenbürgen,” in *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 10 (1976): 50, pl. 3. For more details on this group see on following work: Z.-K. Pinter, A. Dragotă, and I.-M. Țiplic, *Piese de podoabă și vestimentație la grupurile etnice din Transilvania (sec. VII–XII)* (Alba Iulia: editura ALTIR, 2006).

⁶⁷ Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 93; more details on Gâmbaş group: Pinter et al., *Piese de podoabă*, 37–39.

⁶⁸ Fëdorov, “Naselenie,” 199; I. Nestor, “Slavii pe teritoriul R.P.R. în lumina documentelor arheologice,” *SCIV* 10 (1959): 53.

⁶⁹ Rusu, “Note asupra relațiilor,” 722.

⁷⁰ Hîncu, “Cu privire la cultura”; Postică, *Civilizația medievală*.

between pagan cults and the Christian religion. This was a phenomenon with a direct connection to questions of ethnic order, as it reflects the characteristic features of the beliefs of human communities which lived, passed through, or came into these regions during the mentioned timeframe.

Biritual cemeteries have been certified in Transylvania, in the south of Wallachia, and in the east-Carpathian space. Transylvanian graveyards were concentrated in the space between the middle courses of the rivers Mureș and Olt and those from Wallachia were located along the Lower Danube. On the territories east of the Carpathians, only one case of a biritual cemetery has been found as yet, in Brănești, Orhei rayon, Republic of Moldova, near the lower course of the river Răut (Map 6). Based on the information known so far, we have registered and mapped twenty-one cemeteries with incineration and inhumation graves (Map 6). Similar cemeteries have been found in Alba Iulia-*Stația de Salvare*, Alba county, where approximately 1,700 inhumation graves and only four incineration graves have been discovered.⁷¹ In Berghin-*În Peri*, Alba county, 360 incineration graves and twelve inhumation graves were found,⁷² while in Boartă-*Pârâul Zăpozii-Șoivan*, Sibiu county, there were thirty-three incineration graves and two inhumation graves,⁷³ in Bratei no. 2-*Rădaie*, Sibiu county, there were 210 incineration graves and thirty-four inhumation graves,⁷⁴ in Brănești, Orhei rayon there were ninety-five inhumation graves and three incineration graves,⁷⁵ in Frățești, Giurgiu county, there were sixteen incineration graves and twenty-three inhumation graves,⁷⁶ in Ghirbom-*Gruitul Fierului*, Alba county there were eleven incineration graves and nine inhumation graves,⁷⁷ in Izvoru-*Dealul Porcilor*, Giurgiu county there were 344 inhumation graves and 100 incineration graves,⁷⁸ in Mediaș-*Dealul Furcilor*, Sibiu county, there were fourteen incineration

71 Blăjan and Popa, "Cercetările arheologice," 375–80; P. Georoceanu, C. Lisovschi-Cheleşanu, and M. Georoceanu, "Studiul osteologic al unui schelet de cal dintr-un mormânt avar din Transilvania," *AMN* 14 (1977): 169–85; Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 179–80; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 98, no. 1.

72 Blăjan and Botezatu, "Studiul arheologic," 457; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 98.

73 S. Dumitrașcu and G. Togan, "Cimitirul de la Boarta-Pârâul Zăpozii Șoivan," *SC* 18 (1974): 93–107; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 100, no. 9.

74 I. Nestor and E. Zaharia, "Raport preliminar despre săpăturile de la Bratei. Jud. Sibiu (1959–1972)," *MCA* 10 (1973): 194, 196–97; Zaharia, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Bratei (jud. Sibiu)," *MCA* 15 (1983): 449–51.

75 G. B. Fëdorov, G. F. Čebotarenko, and M. S. Velikanova, *Braneštiskij mogil'nik X–XI vv.* (Kišinev, 1984).

76 Gh. Anghel and H. Ciugudean, "Cimitirul feudal-timpuriu de la Blandiana (jud. Alba)," *Apulum* 24 (1987): 195; S. Dolinescu-Ferche and M. Ionescu, "La nécropole bi-rituelle du VIII^e siècle á Frățești-Giurgiu," *Dacia N.S.* 15 (1970): 419–30; Isăcescu, "Noi date"; Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 116, no. 12, 427. H. Ciugudean, Z. K. Pinter, and G. T. Rustoiu, ed., *Habitat-Religie-Etnicitate: descoperiri arheologice din secolele IX–XI în România/Habitat-Religion-Ethnicity. 9th–11th Century Archaeological Finds in Transylvania. Catalog de expoziție/Exhibition Catalogue* (Alba Iulia: Editura "Altip," 2006), 67–70.

77 Aldea et al., "Cercetări arheologice," 151–77; Gh. Anghel, "Necropola birituală prefeudală de la Ghirbom (Gruitul Fierului) județul Alba," *Apulum* 34 (1997): 255–71.

78 Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 345, 332 (333) inhumation graves, and 100 incineration graves and 116, no. 16, 442–47.

graves and three inhumation graves,⁷⁹ in Obârșia Nouă-*Coada bălții*, Olt county, there were 131 inhumation graves and seventeen incineration graves,⁸⁰ in Ocna Sibiului-*Lab*, Sibiu county there were 118 incineration graves and eighteen inhumation graves,⁸¹ in Păuleasca, Teleorman county there were 250 incineration graves and two inhumation graves,⁸² in Platonești, Ialomița county, there were 532 incineration graves, ninety-two inhumation graves, and two cenotaphs,⁸³ in Sibiu-*Gușterița-Fântâna Rece*, Sibiu county, there were seventy-nine incineration graves and one inhumation grave,⁸⁴ in Sighișoara-*Dealul Viilor*, Mureș county, there were thirteen incineration graves and one inhumation grave,⁸⁵ in Sihleanu, Brăila county, there were seventy-four incineration graves and five inhumation graves,⁸⁶ in Sultana-*Mostiștea*, Călărași county, there were 135 inhumation graves, forty-six incineration graves, and one cenotaph,⁸⁷ and in Târnava-*Palamor*, Sibiu county, there were thirty-one incineration graves and five inhumation graves⁸⁸ and Toarcla, Brașov county⁸⁹ (Table 4).

The data presented above allow us to classify the cemeteries from this category into two sub-types: cemeteries where incineration prevailed and cemeteries where inhumation prevailed. Thus, in some cemeteries, the number of incineration graves is approximately 90 per cent of the total, while in others inhumation graves make up about 90 per cent of the total. Most cemeteries where incineration prevailed are attributed by the authors of the study, based on the discovered archaeological material, to the seventh–ninth centuries, and the cemeteries where inhumation prevailed are assigned to the eighth–tenth centuries. Thus, during the eighth–ninth centuries, a gradual evolution of the inhumation rite can be observed that came to predominate in the following centuries. This phenomenon reflects the spread of and the slow conversion of communities north of the Lower Danube to the Christian religion.

79 RepSibiu 2003, 134, no. 128,27; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 100.

80 Anghel and Ciugudean, “Cimitirul feudal-timpuriu,” 195; D. Botezatu and P. Cantemir, “Studiul antropologic al scheletelor din necropola prefeudală de la Obârșia Nouă (județul Olt),” *SCA* 30 (1993): 3–7; Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 118, no. 19; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 94–96.

81 D. Protase, “Cimitirul slav de la Ocna Sibiului,” in *Omagiu lui P. Constantinescu* (București, 1965), 153–59; 1964; Th. Näger, “Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen im Hammersdorfer Gräberfeld aus der Völkerwanderungszeit,” in *Forschungen zur Volks und Landeskunde* 14 (Bukarest, 1971): 63–73.

82 M. Comșa and Gh. Bichir, “Date preliminare cu privire la necropola e la Păuleasca,” in *SCIV* 2 (1973): 317–20; Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 118, no. 20, 418–21.

83 Păunescu and Rența, “Așezarea medevală timpurie,” 60.

84 Näger, “Vorbericht,” 63–73.

85 Baltag, “Date pentru un studiu,” 77–88; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 101; Țiplic, “Necropolele de tip Mediaș,” 12.

86 Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 118, no. 30, 423–24.

87 After Fiedler: 135 inhumation graves and 46 urns and one cenotaph. Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 118, no. 32, 447–51.

88 Blăjan and Botezatu, “Studiul arheologic,” 456–57; RepSibiu 2003, 173, no. 179, 9.

89 Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 102.

Biritual cemeteries discovered in Transylvania (Map 6) have been grouped according to their rite peculiarities and funeral rituals by K. Horedt into the group termed *Mediaș*, after the cemetery *Mediaș-Dealul Furcilor*. The appearance of incineration in Transylvania is connected to the settlement of Slavic communities in these regions during the seventh–eighth centuries.⁹⁰ The presence of Slavic communities in the intracarpethian regions is linked, in particular, to the extraction and marketing of salt deposits.⁹¹ The number of inhumation graves is very low in the cemeteries from the *Mediaș* group.⁹² Inhumation graves are not as separate groups within the cemeteries, being located, in most cases, among the incineration graves. The inventory of inhumation graves is similar to that of incineration graves, which means that both rites were practiced simultaneously by the members of these communities. The inventory of graves within biritual cemeteries is quite modest, sometimes represented by pottery, jewellery, and iron hoops from wooden buckets. The poorest is the inventory of incineration graves, in which, besides the funerary urn and the vessels of offering, metal objects (knives), objects made of bone, and beads of glass paste had also been deposited. The vessels were both handmade pottery and made on a potter's wheel, and were decorated with wavy lines or stripes of straight and wavy lines. In the cemetery at *Mediaș-Dealul Furcilor*, Sibiu county, a double inhumation grave was recorded, containing an urn buried together with the skeletons.⁹³ The tradition of double graves was especially characteristic of incineration cemeteries, such as the one at *Ocna Sibiului-Lab*, Sibiu county, where out of ninety-six (69.8 per cent) graves analysed anthropologically, in M82 the ashen remains of two individuals of the opposite sex were found in the same urn, a situation known as a “rite of union through death.”⁹⁴ We are reminded that in this cemetery 118 (120) incineration graves and eighteen (fifteen) inhumation graves have been discovered in total.⁹⁵ In the cemetery at *Sibiul-Gușterța*, Sibiu county, a double grave was discovered in which the remains of calcined bones were put in two separate urns, belonging to a man and a woman.⁹⁶ The ritual of sacrificing a woman at the death of her husband was widely practiced by these Slavic communities. Based on an anthropological analysis of the cemeteries at *Ocna Sibiului-Lab* and *Sibiul-Gușterța*, Sibiu county, it was found that the inhabitants of these communities exhibited eastern Baltic traits, characteristic of the Slavic populations that had penetrated *en masse* into the Transylvanian space during the seventh–eighth centuries.⁹⁷ At the same time,

90 Horedt, *Siebenbürgen*; I. Stanciu, “Slavii timpurii în cercetarea arheologică românească,” *EN* 6 (2001): 105–43.

91 Rusu considers that the Avar domination over the regions with salt deposits in Transylvania is linked to a Slavo-Avar alliance and symbiosis, Rusu, “Note asupra relațiilor,” 720–21.

92 More details on *Mediaș* group: Pinter et al., *Piese de podoabă*, 39–42.

93 K. Horedt, “Un cimitir din secolul IX–X e.n. la *Mediaș*,” *Studia* 2 (1965): 7–23.

94 Nicolăiescu-Ploșor and Wolski, *Elemente de demografie*, 212–18.

95 Protase, “Cimitirul slav”; D. Protase, *Cimitirul slav de la Ocna Sibiului (sec. VIII–IX)* (București, 2004).

96 Nicolăiescu-Ploșor and Wolski, *Elemente de demografie*, 260.

97 Nicolăiescu-Ploșor and Wolski, *Elemente de demografie*, 228.

the anthropological analysis of incineration graves in the cemetery at Sibiu-Gușterița, Sibiu county, finds the presence of a population of a Mediterranean type, representing the characteristic traits of the local Southeastern European population.⁹⁸ This situation proves cohabitation between the Romanic and the Slavic populations. The appearance and the presence of the incineration rite during the seventh–ninth centuries and of other archaeological materials (ceramics) is linked to the penetration of successive waves of Slavic communities. At the same time, a number of graves and cemeteries in the Avar tradition have been found in Transylvania (Aiud, Alba county,⁹⁹ Bratei, Sibiu county,¹⁰⁰ Cicău-Săliște, Alba county,¹⁰¹ Câmpia Turzii, Cluj county,¹⁰² Heria, Alba county,¹⁰³ Lopadea Nouă, Alba county,¹⁰⁴ Măgina-Dealului Pleș, Alba county,¹⁰⁵ Stremț, Alba county,¹⁰⁶ and Teiuș-Cetățuie, Alba county),¹⁰⁷ proving the penetration of the late Avars into these regions in the seventh–eighth centuries due to their interest in the salt trade in the region (Map 6). A massive Avar presence has been demonstrated on the Banat-Crișana Plain, which fits perfectly into the area of the second Avar Kaganate (Maps 1, 4, 5).¹⁰⁸ The discovery of Avar graves near salt deposits in Transylvania and near Slavic cemeteries reflects the existence of a Slav-Avar alliance due to their common interest in control of the salt mines.¹⁰⁹

The cemetery at Alba Iulia-*Stația de salvare*, Alba county, is also included in the *Mediaș* group by some archaeologists,¹¹⁰ but it differs from other cemeteries in that at this one, inhumation predominates.¹¹¹ Four incineration graves are concentrated in the northern part of the cemetery, constituting, in all probability, a chronologically earlier stage leading into the eighth–ninth centuries. The rest of the dead (approximately 1,700) had been buried, and 60 per cent of them had been deposited in simple rectangular pits with slightly rounded corners, 35 per cent of the graves had been covered with pieces of stone and Roman *tegulae*, stacked in 1–2 rows, and about 2 per cent of the dead had been deposited in boxes of Roman bricks; only 0.7 per cent had remnants of wooden

98 Nicolăiescu-Ploșor and Wolski, *Elemente de demografie*, 228.

99 RepAlba 1999, 28; Dulea, “Considerații.”

100 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 67, no. 04-01-0060-01.

101 Winkler et al., “Necropola avară,” 269–83; Cosma, “Considerații,” 275; RepAlba 1999, 75–76, no. 39:2; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 91.

102 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 88, no. 04-01-0140-01; Dulea, “Considerații,” 224.

103 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 160, no. 04-01-0300-01.

104 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 228, no. 04-01-0320-01.

105 RepAlba 1999, 122–23, no. 111:4.

106 RepAlba 1999, 178, no. 176:3.

107 RepAlba 1999, 189, no. 190:5,d, Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 374, no. 04-01-0700-01.

108 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*.

109 Țiplic, “Necropolele de tip Mediaș,” 19–20.

110 Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 98.

111 “The group Mediaș is characterized by the predominance of incineration funerary rite at the expense of inhumation,” Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 103.

coffins.¹¹² Based on the archaeological materials discovered, two chronological phases of this cemetery can be distinguished; the first one is the eighth/ninth to the beginning of the tenth century, and the second one is the tenth century to the beginning of the eleventh century. The graves from the first stage were usually in pits, oval or rectangular in plan, and encased in Roman bricks, with a depth varying between 1.5 and 1.75 m. The pits were usually oriented east-west, and the deceased body was placed with the arms outstretched or folded near the pelvis. The inventory of the graves consisted of pottery, jewellery, clothing accessories, weapons, tools, and offerings. Ceramic vessels, usually one or two, were placed near the head or the feet of the deceased and contained offerings of domestic animal meat (sheep and goat). The pots were made of a brick red or gray coarse paste on a potter's wheel. The ornamentation consisted of strips of parallel straight or wavy lines. This type of pottery was accompanied by vessels from the category of *gray polished pottery* and amphora-form yellowish jugs with polished surfaces.¹¹³ Thus, the funerary inventory of the cemetery at Alba Iulia-*Stația de salvare*, Alba county, finds more similarities with the one certified in the cemeteries of the group *Blandiana A* than with those from the *Medias* group.

In the biritual cemeteries in southern Wallachia (Map 6) inhumation graves usually prevailed (Table 4). Inhumation graves have pits rectangular in plan, with rounded corners, and are variously oriented (north-south, north-east, east-west, west-east, south-north). In the cemetery at Izvoru, Giurgiu county, graves recessed into the wall were also discovered; in M35 it was in the northern wall and in M80 it was in the southern wall.¹¹⁴ In most cases, the dead were deposited on their backs, with arms and legs outstretched. In some cases there have been exceptions, such as in M63, at Izvoru, where the left hand is stretched along the body and the right is bent at the right angle and placed on the abdomen, or M77, where the right hand is stretched along the body and the left hand is bent at the elbow and put on the chest.¹¹⁵ The funerary inventory found in the graves at Izvoru most often are clay pots, usually located by the feet of the deceased, iron knives, bone cases for needles, weaving loom weights, and various items of jewellery (earrings, needles, beads, rings, rings, bracelets, or buckles). In some graves lighters, pieces of flint, and farm tools (sickles) were found. The category of offerings includes animal bones (sheep, goat, cattle, pigs) and poultry (barn door fowl and egg shells).¹¹⁶

Incineration graves within the biritual cemeteries of Wallachia fall into two categories, those with calcined bones deposited directly into the pit and those with ashen bones deposited into urns. The inventory of the graves, for both cases, is quite modest, consisting of buckles, earrings, bracelets, and knife blades. Ash urns are usually made on a potter's wheel of a paste of superior quality as compared to the one used for the *Medias*

112 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 179.

113 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 180.

114 Mitrea, "Unele probleme," 447.

115 Mitrea, "Unele probleme," 447.

116 Mitrea, "Unele probleme," 448–49.

group, with some pots having the potter's signs printed on the bottom.¹¹⁷ Some urns are covered with whole or broken vessels. In terms of time, most cemeteries date from between the eighth and the tenth centuries. One hundred incineration graves were discovered at the cemetery at Izvoru, Giurgiu county, consisting of less than one-third of the total investigated graves (Table 4). The pots in which the calcined bones were deposited were usually gray ceramics,¹¹⁸ without an inventory. The pits where the ashen remains were deposited directly are deepened into the soil for between 0.40 and 0.53 m and also lacked much content. In some cases, apart from the calcined human bones, scraps of charcoal, bits of burned clay, pebbles, and fragments of pottery can be seen. Pieces of inventory such as knife blades, iron buckles, and so on, have rarely been found in incineration graves.¹¹⁹ Based on the discovered materials and analogies with the cemeteries south of the Danube, the cemetery at Izvoru, Giurgiu county, includes a fairly wide chronological period between the seventh and the ninth centuries.

The cemetery at Păuleasca, Teleorman county, constitutes an exception to the situation described above, because here incineration graves heavily predominate (Table 4). Based on the discovered archaeological material, the cemetery is chronologically located in the ninth–tenth centuries.¹²⁰ The anthropological analyses based on discoveries at Izvoru-Dealul Porcilor, Giurgiu county, Obârșia Nouă-Coada bălții, Olt county, and Sultana-Mostișteea, Călărași county indicate certain aspects of the ethnic composition of the communities that lived on the north bank of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries, speaking to controversial issue that has been actively polemized in European historiography over several decades. Thus, in the cemetery at Obârșia Nouă-Coada bălții, Olt county, anthropological analysis shows the predominance of the European type, within which a higher frequency of mixed Mediterranean-Nordic and Dinaric-Mediterranean type stands out. Mediterranean forms with Black Sea nuance are equally well represented when compared to the Protoeuropoid ones, as they are rarer. Among the dead alpine elements have been certified as well, but rather sporadically compared to the types listed above.¹²¹ The presence of Mediteranianoid elements highlights, in some cases, the Balkan-Carpathian predominance.¹²² In general, these anthropological analyses clearly demonstrate the polymorphic character of Danubian communities in the eighth–ninth centuries, a situation characteristic of the Balkan-Danubian regions both in antiquity and in the Middle Ages.

Two other biritual cemeteries have been found in the east and in the south of Moldova (Map 6). The biritual cemetery at Sihleanu, Brăila county, comprises seventy-nine investigated graves, out of which seventy-five are incineration, mostly in urns, and four are inhumation graves without inventory, which proved

117 Isăcescu, "Noi date," 204, pl. II.

118 Mitrea, "Unele probleme," 449–50, fig. 2.

119 Mitrea, "Unele probleme," 452.

120 Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 118, no. 20, 418–21.

121 Botezatu and Cantemir, "Studiul antropologic," 6.

122 Botezatu and Cantemir, "Studiul antropologic," 6–7.

to contain children.¹²³ This cemetery is near the incineration cemeteries of Galați-Valea lui Tuluc, Galați county,¹²⁴ Șendreni-Pepenieră, Galați county,¹²⁵ Chișcani, Brăila county,¹²⁶ and Tichilești, Brăila county,¹²⁷ which would form a separate group in the eighth–tenth centuries.

Another biritual cemetery has been found in Brănești, Orhei rayon (Map 6), where inhumation graves predominate. The highest density of graves is found in the eastern sector of the cemetery, including three incineration graves, two graves with the skeleton placed in the prone position and on one side (M17 and M37), and even a grave of an animal, which was partially destroyed—M38. Also, the majority of graves with a funeral inventory have been uncovered in this sector. In all likelihood, this sector is the oldest part of the cemetery, which was first used in the ninth century.¹²⁸ The urns found in the cemetery of Brănești are pots decorated with incized horizontal and sinusoidal lines, in most cases made on a potter's wheel. This type of vessel and ornamentation is characteristic of settlements from the ninth–eleventh centuries, the main criterion by which this cemetery was dated.¹²⁹

Horedt groups the biritual cemeteries from southern Wallachia, together with some of the inhumation and incineration cemeteries from Transylvania (Blandiana), Wallachia, the south of Moldova (Izvoru, Ilfov county, Sihleanu, Brăila county, Sultana, Ilfov county, Tichilești, Brăila county, and Chișcani-Sat, Brăila county) and Dobrogea (Castelu, Canlia, Gârlița, Histria-Capul Viilor, Satu Nou, Constanța county, and Nalbant, Tulcea county) into group called *Blandiana A-Dridu*.¹³⁰ The cemeteries included in this group have certain similarities, particularly in ceramics, both north and the south of the Danube,¹³¹ but differ in the features of their funerary rites and rituals,¹³² which leads to some doubt regarding their inclusion in one cultural and ethnic group. To answer these questions, an integrated disclosure of the investigated cemeteries is necessary, together with a complex and interdisciplinary analysis of them at the local and micro-regional level as well as over wider geographical areas.

Inhumation Cemeteries

So far, the number of the inhumation cemeteries dating from the eighth–ninth centuries in the Carpathian-Danubian space amounts to 174, out of which 138 cemeteries

¹²³ Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 118, no. 30, 423–24.

¹²⁴ Constantinescu, "Aspecte privind," 217, no. 57:a.

¹²⁵ Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 150, no. 653.

¹²⁶ N. Harțuche, "Cronica descoperirilor arheologice din județul Brăila în perioada 1968–1978," *Istros* 1 (1980): 358.

¹²⁷ Harțuche, "Cronica," 366.

¹²⁸ Fëdorov et al., *Braneštiskij mogil'nik*, 39.

¹²⁹ Fëdorov et al., *Braneštiskij mogil'nik*.

¹³⁰ Horedt, "Die Brandgräberfelder," 50, pl. 3.

¹³¹ Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, pl. 21.

¹³² Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*.

belonged to Avar communities and are concentrated on the plain areas of the Tisza, thus having a direct link with the sites in Carpathian Basin (Table 3, Chart 3, Map 6).¹³³ The other thirty-eight cemeteries are part of the groups of inhumation cemeteries located in the north-western areas of the studied territory, on the border between Romania and Hungary in the intracarpathian space, on the river Mureș, in the north-east of Wallachia, and in the Prut-Dniester space, on the boundary between the steppe and the forest steppe (Map 6). These discoveries should be added to by over sixty singular graves, most of them belonging to the Avars and spread across the middle basin of the Mureș and on the Banat-Crișana Plain (Maps 1, 4).

During this period, inhumation cemeteries were characterized by a wide variety of funerary rituals specific to various ethnocultural and religious communities inhabiting the regions north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–ninth centuries.

In inhumation graves, the deceased are deposited directly into simple pits, rectangular in shape, with a depth varying according to topographical conditions (between 0.20 m and 1.80 m). In some cemeteries, circular or oval pits have also been found.¹³⁴ The fact that in most cases traces of wood and staples or nails from a coffin are missing leads us to assume that the deceased were deposited directly into the pit, possibly wrapped in a perishable material (mat, fabric, or fur) or even deposited in a textile or leather bag. However, traces of coffins were found at Comloșu Mare, Timiș county,¹³⁵ Sănandrei-Ocsabrickel, Timiș county,¹³⁶ Zalău-Palvar, Sălaj county,¹³⁷ and others.

Most graves contain one human skeleton lying on its back and in only a few cases did the skeleton have a crouched position. These exceptions are rarely found; one such is grave 4AB at Sălacea, comprising two skeletons, one male and one female, placed in the dorsal position, side by side, with arms extended along the body. The left-hand palm of the female skeleton overlapped the right-hand palm of the male skeleton, with the two forearms touching;¹³⁸ this shows that the dead were buried simultaneously.

The orientation of the pits and skeletons is quite varied, virtually in all directions. In some cemeteries, certain norms seem to have been respected regarding grave orientation, specific to the religious traditions of the respective communities, and that the prevailing orientations are East to West or North to South.

Inventories of inhumation graves are relatively poor, with some exceptions, such as when clothing accessories and objects of adornment were discovered (earrings,

133 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*. Avars—the population from the Central-Asian regions that dominated the Carpathian Basin area during sixth to eighth centuries. Being nomads, they have some distinctive features, especially in terms of rituals and funerary rituals. Thus, the Avars practiced burial in the graves, where they deposited a series of pieces that distinguished them from other populations: pressed and molded belts, pieces ornamented with griffins and tusks, harnesses (lances, saddles), weapons (peaks lances, swords), horse burials, and so on.

134 Such graves were attested in: Hansca—2 graves, one in Calfa and one in Dobrynovcy and so on.

135 Dulea, “Considerații,” 210, 225.

136 Mare, *Banatul*, 202.

137 Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 240–41.

138 C. Cosma, “Necropole, morminte izolate și descoperiri funerare cu caracter incert din secolele al IX-lea și al X-lea din *Vestul și nord-vestul*,” *EN* 6 (2001): 169.

beads, rings, buttons and metal discovered appliques, bracelets, buckles, knives, pottery, weaving loom weights, etc.). In some graves animal offerings, pots, and cereals have been found. Often there is a direct link between the pieces of a grave's inventory and the period of their maximum frequency with regards to specific culture media; however, ethnic discrimination on the basis of these materials must be done very carefully, because some categories of objects circulated quite widely in medieval Europe. Thus, in some singular graves and cemeteries rich funerary inventories have been discovered, consisting of weapons (arrowheads and spears, swords, battle-axes), pieces of clothing (buckles, belt appliques), and harness pieces (stirrup, bits, phalerae). In these graves, besides the human skeleton, the partial or integral deposit of animals, usually horses, has been demonstrated. The combination of weapons and harness and, sometimes, horse skeletons or parts thereof, reflects the status of the deceased as a mounted warrior. These elements of ritual are characteristic of Avar burials and were widespread on the Pannonian Plain and in the Tisza valley during the seventh–eighth centuries.¹³⁹ Avar cemeteries in this area are distinguished not only by their funerary rites and rituals and the pieces of inventory but also by the sheer number of graves, ranging from a few dozen to a few hundred. In the Avar cemeteries of the eighth–ninth centuries at *Ártánd-Kapitány-dűlő, Róth-tanya*, Hajdú-Bihar county, 270 graves were discovered,¹⁴⁰ while in *Orosháza-Béke Tsz homokbánya*, Békés county, there were 149 graves,¹⁴¹ and in *Szarvas-Grexa-téglagyár*, Békés county, there were 422 graves;¹⁴² in the cemetery from the seventh and eighth centuries at *Rákóczifalva-Kastélydomb*, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county, there were seventy-eight graves,¹⁴³ while at *Tiszaeszlár-Sinkahegy*, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county, there were about 100 graves,¹⁴⁴ at *Tiszaderzs-Szentimrei út*, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county, there were 104 graves,¹⁴⁵ in the cemetery of the seventh to ninth centuries at *Dévaványa-Köleshalom, Szűts P. földje*, Békés county, there were 159 graves,¹⁴⁶ and at *Szentes-Nagyhegy*, Csongrád county, there were 300 graves;¹⁴⁷ in the cemeteries of the eighth century *R Kaba-Bitőzug*, Hajdú-Bihar county, there were 160 graves,¹⁴⁸

139 Over 50,000 Avar graves are known today and over 60,000 pieces coming from funerary inventory. Daim, "Istorija i arhaeologija avar," 287.

140 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 26.

141 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 272.

142 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 337.

143 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 301–2.

144 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 379.

145 I. Kovrig, "The Tiszaderzs Cemetery," in *Avar Finds in the Hungarian National Museum. Cemeteries of the Avar Period (567–829) in Hungary*, ed. I. Kovrig, 1 (Budapest, 1975), 209–40; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 378.

146 Kovrig, "The Tiszaderzs Cemetery"; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 113.

147 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 356.

148 M. Ferencz, "Anthropological investigation of Avar period population of Kaba," *AnH* 21 (1990): 55–68; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 178.

at Orosháza-Béke *Tsz homokbánya*, Békés county, there were 245 graves,¹⁴⁹ at Szarvas-Kákapusztá, Békés county, there were forty-nine graves,¹⁵⁰ at Szőreg-B, *községi homokbánya*, Csongrád county, there were fifty-eight graves,¹⁵¹ and so on. One of the biggest cemeteries investigated and published in full so far is an Avar cemetery dating from the seventh to ninth centuries at Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county, where 1,282 graves have been discovered.¹⁵² To the east of the Tisza, Avar cemeteries and graves are particularly often found on the Banat-Crişana Plain and in the centre of Transylvania, fitting chronologically into the second half of the seventh century to the beginning of the ninth century (Maps 4, 5). Apart from singular graves along the middle course of the Mureş, a group of Avar cemeteries chronologically assigned to the seventh–eighth centuries stands out. These are the cemeteries at Cicău-Sălişte, Alba county,¹⁵³ Noşlac-Livada, Alba county,¹⁵⁴ and Aiud, Alba county,¹⁵⁵ and they demonstrate an effective Avar presence in the intracarpethian space (Map 6). The presence of Avar cemeteries and of Slavic incineration cemeteries in the same area (as at Petrisat-Valea Secoi, Alba county, Turdaş-Valea Clociţă, Alba county, and Uioara de Jos-Pârloage, Alba county) (Map 6) prove a Slavic-Avar partnership in the seventh–eighth centuries and the interest shared by the two populations in the salty areas of Transylvania.

The Banat is another area where inhumation graves and cemeteries have been certified, among which burials according to the Avar funeral tradition can be clearly seen, such as those at Vojvodina la Bavanište-Mesna ciglana,¹⁵⁶ Čoka-Kremenjak,¹⁵⁷ Čoka-Szőke-major,¹⁵⁸ Glogonj,¹⁵⁹ Ilandža-11,¹⁶⁰ Kumane,¹⁶¹ Opovo-Kozija Leda,¹⁶² Opovo-Beli Bat,¹⁶³

149 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 272–73.

150 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 337.

151 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 366.

152 É. Garam, “Das Awarzeitliche Gräberfeld von Tiszafüred,” in *Cemeteries of the Avar period (567–829) in Hungary*, ed. A. Kiss and É. Garam, 3 (Budapest, 1995).

153 I. Winkler, M. Takács, and Gh. Păiuş, “Necropola avară de la Cicău,” *AMN* 14 (1977): 269–83; Georoceanu et al., “Studiul osteologic,” 285–94.

154 RepAlba 1999, 129–31; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 263.

155 RepAlba 1999, 23; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 18.

156 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 46.

157 Bejan, *Banatul*, 201, no. 24; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 93.

158 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 93–94.

159 J. Kovačević, “Die awarische Militärgrenze in der Umgebung von Beograd im VIII. Jahrhundert,” *AI* 14 (1973): 51; Bejan, *Banatul*, 200.

160 Trifunović, “Antička i srednjovekovna,” 100; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 169.

161 Mare, *Banatul*, 186, no. 155; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 217.

162 Kovačević, “Die awarische,” 51; Barački, and Brmbolid, “Stepen,” 221; Bejan, *Banatul*, 200; Mare, *Banatul*, 192, no. 194/2; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 271.

163 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 271.

Pančevo-*Rafinerija nafne*,¹⁶⁴ Pančevo-*Bansif*,¹⁶⁵ Vrbica,¹⁶⁶ and so on, and in Romania at Sânaandrei-*Ocsabrickel*, Timiș county,¹⁶⁷ Lunga, Timiș county,¹⁶⁸ Timișoara-*Podul Modoș*, Timiș county,¹⁶⁹ and others. The region of the Banat, together with other regions on the Tisza Plain, was under the direct influence of the Avar Kaganate in the seventh–eighth centuries. The appearance of burials dated to the end of the eighth century to the beginning of the ninth century can be attributed to the displacement of Avar communities from the western regions to the east of the Tisza in the context of confrontations between the Avars and the armies of the Franks and the Bulgarians.

Another group of inhumation cemeteries, known in the historiography as the *Ciumbrud* group, is situated on the middle course of the Mureșul and includes discoveries at Ciumbrud-*Podireu*, Alba county,¹⁷⁰ and Orăștie-*Dealul Pemilor*, *Punct X8*, Hunedoara county¹⁷¹ (Map 6). The authors of the discoveries at Ciumbrud have attributed the cemetery to the Moravian medium,¹⁷² showing the similarities to the cemetery at *Staré Město*, Slovakia.¹⁷³ In the cemeteries at Ciumbrud-*Podireu* and Orăștie-*Dealul Pemilor*, *Punct X8*, traces of plants were discovered, proving the depositing of the deceased into wooden coffins.¹⁷⁴ The graves are mainly oriented on an east-west axis and contain rich inventories (ceramics, bronze, and silver pieces of adornment in the Byzantine tradition). The graves' orientation, the position of the arms, and objects with Christian signs and crosses found in some of the graves highlight the Christian character of these communities. K. Horedt assigned the cemetery at Ciumbrud-*Podireu*, Alba county to a group of Western Slavs that came into Transylvania a century later than those at Nușfalău-Someșeni.¹⁷⁵ M. Țiplic notes that the discoveries at Ciumbrud and Orăștie find many

164 St. Barački and Marin Brmboliđ, "Stepen istraženosti srednjevekovnih lokaliteta na području južnog Banata," *RMV* 39 (1997): 223.

165 Kovačević, "Die awarische," 51; Bejan, *Banatul*, 200; N. Stanojev, *Srednjovekovna seoska naselja od V do XV veka u Vojvodini* (Novi Sad, 1996), 123–26; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 279; Mare, *Banatul*, 195.

166 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 419.

167 Mare, *Banatul*, 202.

168 Dulea, "Considerații, 225.

169 A. Bejan, "Necropola de inumație din sec. VIII–IX e.n. de la Timișoara-Podul Modoș," *AMN* 20 (1983): 489–98; Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 138; Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, 376.

170 A. Dankanits and I. Ferenczi, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Ciumrud (r. Aiud, reg. Cluj)," *MCA* 6 (1959): 605–15; Anghel and Ciugudean, "Cimitirul feudal-timpuriu," 195; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 235, no. VIII.

171 Z.-K. Pinter and Nicolaus G. O. Boroffka, "Necropola de tip Ciumbrud de la Orăștie-Dealul Pemilor," *Punct X8*, *Apulum* 38 (2001): 319–46; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 240. Ciugudean et al., *Habitat-Religie-Etnicitate*, 71–73. Pinter et al., *Piese de podoabă*, 42–44.

172 Dankanits and Ferenczi, "Săpăturile arheologice," 605–15.

173 H. Chorvátová, "K relativnej chronológii pohrebiska Staré Město v polohe na valách," *Acta Historica Neosoliensia* 7 (2004): 199–236.

174 Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 114.

175 Horedt, *Siebenbürgen*, 198.

analogies with cemeteries in Wallachia and the regions south of the Danube, mentioning that their allocation to the Moravian horizon is not certain.¹⁷⁶ Al. Madgearu integrates the cemetery at Alba Iulia–*str. Arhim. Iuliu Hossu*, Alba county, into the *Ciumbrud* group as well, trying to highlight a common cultural group *Alba-Iulia-Ciumbrud* around Danubian influences, chronologically framed in the second half of the ninth century to the first half of the tenth century.¹⁷⁷ In the graves at Ciumbrud and Orăștie, many pieces in Byzantine style, characteristic of the ninth–tenth centuries, have been found; however, Byzantine pieces of adornment of the type discovered have been known over a wide area across the Danubian regions and in Central Europe during the ninth–eleventh centuries. Their presence in huge amounts in the cemetery at *Staré Město* proves active cultural and economic connections between the Moravian state and the Byzantine Empire.¹⁷⁸ The close proximity of the Bulgarians to the borders of the Empire does not mean the monopolization of relations with Byzantium. After the crisis of the eighth–ninth centuries, the Byzantine Empire gradually recovered and actively involved itself in European politics, supporting, in particular, the Christianization of its neighbouring peoples. From the correspondence between Rostislav (846–870) and the emperor Michael the Third (842–867), it appears that Byzantium sent a Methodius mission from Thessaloniki in the year 863 to Christianize the Moravians and to stop the influence of the Western church. By the year 873, the Byzantine mission had been able to introduce the liturgy in Slavonic into the Moravian realm and to translate some religious books into Slavonic, written in Glagolitic characters. The appearance of Moravian elements in the intracarpethian regions can be attributed to some refugee communities from the Moravian realm, in the context of the Franco-Moravian conflicts of the second half of the ninth century. The solicitation of King Arnulf of Bavaria, in the year 892, addressed to the Bulgarians and asking them not to allow the sale of salt in Moravia, proves that the Moravians had no direct access to the salt resources of the Carpathians. This story tells us that the Bulgarians were the ones who controlled the salt trade in the regions north of the Lower Danube, and the Moravian communities, together with the inhabitants of the other settlements documented in the region, could have been under their rule.

Blandiana A constitutes the third group of inhumation cemeteries,¹⁷⁹ including the discoveries at *Blandiana-La brod*, Alba county,¹⁸⁰ *Sebeș-Podul Pripocului*, Alba county,¹⁸¹

176 Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 95.

177 Al. Madgearu, *România în opera Notarului Anonim* (Cluj-Napoca, 2001), 190–92.

178 M. Rusu mentioned that “the Byzantine influence on the Moravian material culture was much stronger than it was thought,” the arrival of the Moravian Slavs into the intracarpethian space having being linked to the persecution of the bishop Wiching against the disciples of Methodius. Rusu, “Note asupra relațiilor,” 724n49.

179 Horedt, “Voievodatul,” 494–506; Horedt also names this group *Blandiana A, Dridu*. Horedt, “Die Brandgräberfelder,” 42, pl. 3; Pinter et al., *Piese de podoaă*, 44–48.

180 I. A. Aldea and H. Ciugudean, “Noi descoperiri feudal-timpurii la Blandiana (jud. Alba),” *Apulum* 19 (1981): 145–49; H. Ciugudean and Gh. Anghel, “Necropola feudal timpurie de la Blandiana, jud. Alba,” *MCA* 17 (1993): 361–64; RepAlba 1999, 60; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 235.

181 RepAlba 1999, 167; M. S. Nicolae, “Considerații asupra mormintelor medievale timpurii descoperite în anul 1865 la Sebeș (jud. Alba),” *AM* 4 (2002): 47–57.

and Alba Iulia-Arhim. Iuliu Hossu str., Alba county (Map 6).¹⁸² This group of cemeteries in Transylvania can be connected to the establishment of Bulgarian control and to the transfer of populations from the southern areas of the Danube basin into regions with salt deposits in the Mureș Valley.¹⁸³ The Bulgarian presence in the Carpathian-Danubian regions has been widely debated in historical literature, beginning with the localization of *Onglos* to the extent of Bulgaria across the river, but there has not been a conclusive point reached.¹⁸⁴ A number of Romanian archaeologists attribute cemeteries of the *Blandiana A* type to the Balkan-Danubian culture, showing the similarities between the discoveries north of the Danube and the ones from south of the river.¹⁸⁵ Their inventory consisted of pots with offerings made on a potter's wheel from a good-quality paste and decorated with incisions, the vessels being both of amphorae type and globular, with polished surfaces, pieces of adornment in Byzantine style, and others. The conversion to Christianity of the populations south and north of the Danube led to a uniformization of funerary traditions, a phenomenon that evolved rapidly, especially after the official Christianization of the Bulgarians (in the second half of the ninth century) and the return of the Byzantines to the Danubian regions (at the end of the tenth century).

This group of cemeteries is characterized by their multiethnic aspect, as both the communities south and north of the Danube included Romanic, Slavic, and Bulgarian populations. The attempts to assign some cemeteries only to Slavs, Bulgarians, Slavic-Bulgarians, Romans, or Romanians are impossible and lead to endless historiographical discussion. Therefore, for this cultural unity which had developed over a wide geographical area following the second half of the ninth century until the end of the eleventh century, the term *Balkan-Danubian culture* is more representative than *Dridu culture*.

For the region of the Banat, only inhumation funerary discoveries of the eighth–ninth centuries have been found to date (incineration and biritual cemeteries are absent). As has been mentioned above, the Avar graves are evident, but other cemeteries in non-Avar

182 M. Drâmbărean, N. Rodean, A. Gligor, V. Moga, and D. Anghel, "O nouă necropolă medievală timpurie descoperită la Alba Iulia," *Apulum* 35 (1998): 187–205; A. Dragotă and D. S. Brândă, "Necropola medievală timpurie de la Alba Iulia–str. Arhim. Iuliu Hossu (fosta Brândușei). Săpăturile de salvare din anul 1999," *Apulum* 38 (2001): 289–318; A. Dragotă and I. M. Țiplic, "Scurt istoric al cercetărilor privind necropolele din Transilvania (sec. IX–XI)," *Corviniana* 6 (2000): 131.

183 Rusu, "Note asupra relațiilor," 722.

184 P. Diaconu, "Le problème de la localisation de l'Onglos," *Dacia N.S.* 14 (1970): 325–34; Diaconu, "Unde trebuie căutat Onglos?," *Istros* 7 (1994): 359–61; I. G. Hynku and I. A. Rafalovič, "Slavjane i turko-bolgary v VI–X vv. Na teritorii Moldavii po arheologičeskim dannym," in *Slavjanite i srednezemnorskijat svjat VI–XI vek* (Sofia, 1973), 161–82; Iv. Božilov, "K"m istoričeskata geografija na Severozapadnoto Černomorje," *INMV* 11 (1975): 27–36; C. Hălcescu, "Din nou despre Onglos," *SCIV* 4 (1989): 339–51; Alexandru Madgearu, "Recent Discussions about 'Onglos,' in *Istro-Pontica–Muzeul Tulcean la a 50-a aniversare* (Tulcea, 2000), 343–48; D.Gh. Teodor, "Din nou despre dominația Bulgariei la nordul Dunării de Jos," *Mousaios* 9 (2004): 127–35.

185 M. Comșa, "La civilisation balkano-danubienne (IXe–XIe siècles) sur la territoire de la R: P: Roumaine (origine, évolution et appartenance ethnique). Etude préliminaire," *Dacia N.S.* 7 (1963): 413–38; Aldea and Ciugudean, "Noi descoperiri," 147–48; Madgearu, *Români*, 192.

style have been found, such as those at Dudeștii Vechi–Pusta Bucova, Timiș county,¹⁸⁶ Remetea Mare–Gomila lui Pituț, Timiș county,¹⁸⁷ Gornea-Podul Păzăriște, Caraș-Severin county,¹⁸⁸ Ciacova, Timiș county,¹⁸⁹ Banatska Palanka–Rudine, Vojvodina,¹⁹⁰ Nikolinci–Klinipiște, Vojvodina,¹⁹¹ Pančevo–Ul. Paje Mardanovića, Vojvodina,¹⁹² Starčevo–Livade, Vojvodina,¹⁹³ Taraș, Vojvodina,¹⁹⁴ and Zrenjanin, Vojvodina.¹⁹⁵ The discovery of Avar and Slav cemeteries from the seventh–eighth centuries and the early ninth century on the territory of the Banat, along with their analogues in the regions west of the Tisza, indicate the coexistence of the two ethnic communities within the second Avar Kaganate and their displacement eastward during the conflicts with the Franks and the liquidation of Avar power. However, in the Banat, after the liquidation of the Avar Kaganate, more and more elements of the Balkan–Danubian tradition appear, which would indicate the establishment of Bulgarian control over these regions and the migration/transfer of some communities south of the Danube. The inventory of graves at Nikolinci–Klinipiște, Vojvodina, finds its analogies with that at Blandiana–La brod, Alba county, by including offerings of animals as well (sheep, goats).¹⁹⁶

The other two groups of inhumation cemeteries were found in northeastern Wallachia and the central area of the Prut–Dniester space (Hansca–Limbari–Căprăria, Ialoveni rayon, Calfa, Anenii Noi rayon) (Map 6).¹⁹⁷ The ones situated at different points in northeastern Wallachia (Chirani, Ialomița county,¹⁹⁸ Fântânele, Teleorman county,¹⁹⁹ Vadu Săpat–Cotul malului, Prahova county,²⁰⁰ Lipia–Fostul saivan, Buzău county,²⁰¹ Săhăteni–Movila Piersicului,

186 Bejan, “Contribuții arheologice,” 237; Bejan, “Necropola de la Dudeștii-Vechi-Bucova IV. O posibilă reevaluare a descoperirilor,” *SIB* 17–18, 1993–1994 (1996): 63–70; A. Bejan and M. Mare, “Dudeștii-Vechi–Pusta Bucova. Necropola și morminte de înhumatie din secolele VI–XII (I),” *AB* 5 (1997): 144–46; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 236.

187 Bejan, “Contribuții,” 355; Bejan, “Contribuții arheologice,” 223–24; Bejan, “Dovezi privind prelucrarea,” 775–83; Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 104–7; Mare, *Banatul*, 199.

188 Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 63; RepCaraș-Severin 2004, 74; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 238.

189 Dulea, “Considerații,” 224.

190 M. Januković and Dj. Januković, *Sloveni u Jugoslovenskom podunavlje* (Beograd, 1990), 70; Đorđević, “Podaci,” 19, no. 1; Mare, *Banatul*, 154, no. 7/6.

191 Barački and Brmboliđ, “Stepen istraženosti,” 220; Đorđević, “Podaci,” 23, no. 21.

192 Barački and Brmboliđ, “Stepen istraženosti,” 223.

193 Livija Pap, “Bronzane naušnice sa lokaliteta “Livade” kod Starèeva,” *RMV* 39 (1997): 137–42.

194 N. Šandor, “Probno Arheološko Ispitivanje Selišta Kod Taraša,” *RVM* 1 (1952): 159–61.

195 Bejan, *Banatul*, 201, no. 21.

196 Đorđević, “Podaci,” 23.

197 Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 92–93, 96–99.

198 Păunescu and Rența, “Așezarea medevală,” 60, 62.

199 M. Comșa, “Ein Begräbnis-Fundverband aus dem 9.–10. Jh. in Fintînele (Kreis Teleorman),” *Dacia N.S.* 13 (1969): 417–37; Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 328–29.

200 Constantinescu, *Memoria pământului*, 234.

201 Constantinescu, *Memoria pământului*, 221.

Buzău county,²⁰² and Vadu Sorești-La Bisericuță, Buzău county²⁰³) are in most cases of an uncertain character or have been described insufficiently, so we cannot undertake a thorough analysis regarding funerary rituals in an exact chronological framework. The discoveries in the south of Moldova, at Stoicani-Dealul de pe Râpă, Galați county²⁰⁴ and Giurgiu-lești, Cahul rayon (Map 6),²⁰⁵ can be included in the same category of archaeological objectives.

In southern Wallachia, there is an inhumation cemetery at Chirnoși, Călărași county, together with other cemeteries situated along the Danube, which, according to the grave inventories, finds analogies in biritual cemeteries nearby (Map 6).²⁰⁶

By the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth century, new cultural groups appeared that are reflected in the western areas of the Carpathian-Danubian space. These are the *Bjelo Brdo* cultures, from the west-Slavic tradition, and *Kötlach*, with cultural elements from the Frankish milieu. The discoveries at Denta, Timiș county,²⁰⁷ Sălcea-Dealul Vida, Bihor county,²⁰⁸ and Zalău-Palvar, Sălaj county²⁰⁹ were the subject of some discussion as to their attribution to either the Moravian culture group²¹⁰ or to the *Kötlach*.²¹¹ Numismatic sources also prove the existence of relations between the communities east of the Tisza and those in Western Europe. Western European coins are only found in cemeteries from the tenth century located in the regions of the middle course of the Tisza, and where the Mureș disgorges itself into the

202 Constantinescu, *Memoria pământului*, 229.

203 V. Drâmbocanu, "Stațiunea arheologică de la Vadu Sorești, jud. Buzău," *MCA* 17 (1993): 469–78; Constantinescu, *Memoria pământului*, 234.

204 M. Petrescu-Dîmboviță and M. Dinu, "Noi cercetări arheologice la Stoicani (jud. Galați)," *SCIV* 25 (1974): 91–95; Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 76; Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 118, no. 31; Constantinescu, *Memoria pământului*, 202, no. 91 (seventh–eighth centuries), 231 (eighth–ninth centuries), no. 136.

205 Gh. Postică, I. Hâncu, and I. Tentiuc, "Așezarea din secolele IX–XI de la Giurgiu-lești și unele considerații privind siturile medievale timpurii din zona lacurilor Dunărene," in *Studia in honorem Ion Niculiță* (Chișinău, 1999), 280–98.

206 Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 116, no. 7.

207 M. Rusu, "Transilvania și Banatul în secolele VI–IX," *Banatica* 4 (1977): 206; Mărghitan, *Banatul*, 40; Bejan, "Contribuții arheologice," 237; Mare, *Banatul*, 168; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 236; Pinter et al., *Piese de podoabă*, 49–53.

208 N. Chidioșan, "O necropolă din feudalismul timpuriu descoperită la Sălcea," *SCIV* 20 (1969, 4): 611–15; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 241.

209 C. Cosma, "Morminte din secolele IX–X p.Ch. descoperite la Zalău (jud. Sălaj)," *EN* 4 (1994): 323–29; Băcuet-Crișan and Băcuet-Crișan, *Cercetări arheologice*, 30, 38–50, 60–64.

210 I. Stanciu, "Cercetarea arheologică a epocii migrațiilor și perioadei de început a epocii medievale timpurii (sec. V–IX p. Chr.) în teritoriul nord-vestic al României," in *Studia archaeologica et historica Nicolae Gudea Dicata. Omagiu profesorului Nicolae Gudea la 60 de ani*, ed. C. Cosma, D. Tamba, and A. Rustoiu (Zalău, 2001), 488–89.

211 C. Cosma, "Necropole de tip Kötlach descoperite în vestul și nord-vestul României," in *Fontes Historiae. Studia in honorem Demetrii Protase*, ed. C. Gaiu and C. Găzdac (Bistrița-Cluj-Napoca, 2006), 857–83.

Tisza.²¹² Most of the coins discovered in graves, both Western European and Byzantine, have two to four perforations, proving their later usage as clothing decorations or talismans (Map 8).

Cenotaphs / Symbolic Funerals

The third funerary tradition found in this period is that of the symbolic burial, in the form of cenotaphs or the burials of different domestic animals.²¹³ Cenotaphs have been found in cemeteries at Hansca-Limbari-Căprăria, Ialoveni rayon, where there were seven, at Sultana-Mostiștea, Călărași county, where there was one,²¹⁴ at Platonești, Ialomița county, also with one,²¹⁵ and at Sânanndrei, Timiș county, with three.²¹⁶

The cenotaphs at Hansca constitute 10 per cent of the total number of graves discovered in this cemetery.²¹⁷ In the second group, all the graves are concentrated to the northeast of the cemetery. The pits are circular and the sections are conical, trapezoidal, or even bitronconical. The diameter of the pits at the lip varies between 1.4–2.6 m, and their depth ranges from 1.1–1.9 m. The diameter at the flat bottom of the pits varies between 1.6–3.0 m. The fillings of the pits consist of loose soil, often mixed with ash and charcoal. In three cases the pits had no inventory, and in the others, fragments of animal bones and pottery were discovered. In grave no. 65 fragments of animal bones and a pottery fragment decorated with wavy lines on the shoulders, coming from the top of a pot made on a potter's wheel, were found. On the bottom of the pit of grave no. 72 a small piece of animal bone was discovered, and only in grave no. 69, on the bottom of the pit in a layer of mixed and specially arranged soil 20 cm thick, was the whole skeleton of an animal (a calf) found,²¹⁸ over which there were two more fragments of animal bone.

Symbolic graves from east of the Carpathians and the southern part of Wallachia belong to biritual cemeteries and find their analogies in the discoveries at Dobrogea, in Canlia-*La Lutărie*, Constanța county²¹⁹ and in Histria-*Capul Viilor*, Constanța county.²²⁰

The five graves from the eighth century discovered at Sânanndrei, Timiș county, include three cenotaphs and two inhumation graves, with the deceased buried after a special ritual. Anthropological analyses showed that the dead from M1 belonged to the

212 Kovács, *Münzen*, map 27.

213 Cenotaph is symbolic burial, which is meant to ensure the peace of souls of disappeared or deceased people away from home or whom, for different reasons, it has not been possible to provide a burial according to the funerary traditions, specific of the respective community.

214 Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 118, no. 32, 447–51.

215 Păunescu and Rența, "Așezarea medevală," 60.

216 M. Muntean and C. Muntean, "Studiu antropologic și de ritual funerar asupra unor schelete provenite de la Sânanndrei (jud. Timiș) datate în secolele VII–VIII," *AB 9 2001* (2002), 272.

217 Hynku, *Kapraria-pamjatnik*, 45.

218 Hynku, *Kapraria-pamjatnik*, 46.

219 Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 116, no. 4.

220 Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*, 116, no. 15; 427–42.

Avar ethnicity,²²¹ and that the one from M2, a Mediterranean type buried in a crouched position, with a shell of *Rapanus* together with those three cenotaphs, could have belonged to a Turanian ethnicity, probably the Bulgarian.

The tradition of symbolic burials is characteristic of the south-Danubian cultural milieu and was brought north of the river in the ninth century, probably as a result of the displacement of Bulgarian communities practicing a pagan rite. Together with the evolution of the process of conversion to Christianity, the tradition of cenotaphs disappeared.

At the end of this short analysis of funerary discoveries, we may note the diversity of rites and rituals found in the Carpathian-Danubian space during the eighth–ninth centuries. Various aspects of these beliefs and religious traditions reflect the heterogeneous ethnic and cultural composition of the society north of the Lower Danube in the time period analysed. The discovery of incineration, inhumation, and biritual rites is clear evidence of this diversity, and conversions to Christianity, in the absence of a stable political structure and an ecclesiastical infrastructure, remained a phenomenon of modest impact. As a result of archaeological mapping of discoveries known so far, we can see that in Pannonia the inhumation rite predominates, as in Moldova the incineration rite predominated and biritualism was the rule in Wallachia. This situation is rather the result of a mixing of populations than clear evidence of the transition from pagan beliefs to Christianity. In this respect, certain micro-regional groups of cemeteries and graves stand out, such as those in Transylvania—*Mediaș*, *Gâmbaș*, *Nușfălău*, *Blandiana*, *Ciumbrud*, *Cluj*, and so on. If in the case of some discoveries their cultural affiliation is relatively clear (Avar), then in other cases the situation remains uncertain.²²²

Political changes occurring during the eighth–ninth centuries in the regions north of the Lower Danube directly affected aspects of the spiritual and religious order as well. The diversity of funeral rites and rituals shows us how variegated the society in the Carpathian-Danubian-Dniester space truly was in that period.

221 Muntean and Muntean, "Studiu antropologic," 272.

222 For more details on these cultural groups see the following work: Pinter et al., *Piese de podoabă*. Z. K. Pinter, I.-M. Țiplic, and M.-E. Țiplic, eds., *Relații interetnice în Transilvania (sec. VI–XIII)* (București: editura Economică, 2005).

Chapter 5

SOCIETY

Archaeological Cultures

In the absence of written sources, archaeological discoveries have become the main source for reconstructions of the history, culture, and ethnicity of early medieval society in the Carpathian-Danubian regions. Archaeological cultures have been invented for the sake of the systematization, analysis, and evaluation of discoveries. However, attempts to draw a direct connection between archaeological cultures and ethnic groups have not always been sufficiently substantiated. Ethnic identities are important social components, but they are not typically directly represented in material culture or social structures. Ethnic constructions have thus gradually become controversial topics in archaeology. The historiographical debates mostly refer to interpretations of archaeological discoveries in the context of the concepts of “archaeological cultures” and “ethnic groups.” The Carpathian-Danubian space historically was not only a transit territory for nomadic populations from the east to Central and Southeastern Europe, but also an active area of cultural and ethnic interference. Thus, the ethnic and cultural attribution of archaeological discoveries from this region presents a difficult problem to solve. The attempts of archaeologists and historians to make cultural and ethnic evaluations of early medieval archaeological discoveries have been influenced by political situations, trends, and interests, as archaeological discoveries have been often used in a speculative way by politicians to justify annexations and territorial claims.

On one hand, there has been an attempt to show the regional peculiarities of archaeological cultures, but also to appreciate their homogeneity and uniformity. However, in the context of addressing problems regarding the continuity of habitation and ethnogenesis, archaeological cultures have been identified with certain groups of populations—the Romanic, the Slavs, the Avars, the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, the Romanians, and so on. The ethnic background of archaeological cultures is difficult to evaluate because they mostly reflect the material, rather than the ethnic, condition of society. The characteristic features of certain categories of pieces, such as ceramics, for example, may have ethnic relevance, but archaeologists cannot solve the problems of identity based solely on these materials. Archaeological pieces highlight the material aspects of culture and not the ones related to the mentality, spirituality, or language of those who had produced and used them. The concept of archaeological culture is also much broader than its association with a specific ethnic identity. The more so as ethnic identity is constantly changing. Therefore, the interactions between concepts of “archaeological cultures” and “ethnic groups” have remained widely discussed in the specialized literature up to the present.¹

1 S. Brather, “Etnische Identität als Konstrukte der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie,” *Germania* 78 (2000): 139–77; Brather, *Archäologie der westlichen Slawen. Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*

In the archaeological literature, many opinions and notions regarding the archaeological cultures north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries have circulated, and the emergence and the assertion of cultural concepts have often been influenced by the politics of totalitarian regimes in socialist countries. The cultural framing of early medieval sites is a prime example of this phenomenon. P. Dîmboviță attributes the discoveries at Hlincea, Suceava, Iași, Spinoasa and so on to the 1950s, and the ones dating from the eighth–tenth centuries to the Romen-Borševo culture, spread between the Don and Dnieper rivers.² During the same period, M. Comșa attributed the discoveries at Hlincea to the Slavs, assigning them to the Luka Rajkoveckaja culture.³ Together with the change of political vectors in Romania, archaeological discoveries east of the Carpathians from the eighth–tenth centuries were conceptualized by Romanian archaeologists as part of a specific culture, the *Hlincea*, later considered a variant of Dridu culture. Thus, we can conclude that archaeology was heavily ideological during the communist regime, whose influences are still felt.

Hlincea Culture

Dan Gh. Teodor argues that the civilization east of the Carpathians during the seventh–ninth centuries, assigned to the *Hlincea* culture and developing on a local basis, illustrates the process of the completion of the formation of the Romanian people.⁴ The first phase of the *Hlincea I* culture comprises, according to Dan Gh. Teodor, the end of the seventh and the eighth centuries,⁵ also termed the *Lozna* phase, and reflects the beginning of cultural uniformization in the regions east of the Carpathians.⁶ The archaeologist from Iasi further argues that at this stage “the process of the ethnic assimilation of the rest of the Slavic population by the Romanians” took place.⁷ The same author, referring to the peculiarities of their material culture, pointed out that “vessels made by hand, especially the jars with a pear-shaped, elongated body, decorated with alveoles and grooves on the rim, representing nonlocal elements, become increasingly rare, disappearing for good during

im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York, 2001); Brather, *Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie. Geschichte, Grundlagen und Alternativen*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Band 42 (Berlin, 2004).

2 M. Petrescu-Dîmboviță, “Rezultatele ultimelor cercetări ale arheologilor sovietici cu privire la așezările de tip Romen-Borševo și importanța lor pentru arheologia R.P.R.,” *SCIV* 5 (1954): 576–80.

3 M. Comșa attributes *Hlincea I* culture solely to the Eastern Slavs. Eastern Slavic tribes, who inhabited the regions from the east of the river Dnieper, moved southward in a few stages, reaching the regions from the east of the Carpathians and the Romanian Plain. Chișvasi-Comșa, “Slavii de răsărit,” 73, 78.

4 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 87.

5 M. Comșa considers that the bottom date of *Luka Rajkoveckaja* culture–*Hlincea I*, must be fixed during the seventh century. Chișvasi-Comșa, “Slavii de răsărit,” 78.

6 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 88.

7 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 88.

the eighth century.”⁸ This was a quiet period, without any signs of movement by the waves of the Slavs. The Bulgarian transition affected only a few areas south of the east-Carpathian regions. In the second phase of *Hlincea* culture (the middle Hlincea), comprising the middle of the eighth century to the middle of the ninth century, pottery made on the wheel appreciably increased, and the elements of form and decoration thereunto diversified.⁹ Gray polished pottery appeared during that period, which Dan Gh. Teodor takes as “evidence of the continuity of the native population in the regions east of the Carpathians.”¹⁰ The third and final phase of the Hlincea culture comprises the second half of the ninth century and the first decades of the tenth century. This period is characterized by a generalization of pottery made on wheel, and handmade vessels are increasingly rarely found in settlements.¹¹ At the same time, there was an increase in and diversification of all types of tools. Thus, according to Romanian archaeologists and based on Hlincea-type discoveries, an upward development in human habitation east of the Carpathians can be observed during the seventh–ninth centuries, which can be considered as an aspect of Dridu civilization.¹² M. Comşa uses the term *Luka Rajkoveckja-Hlincea I*¹³ or *Hlincea I-Luka Rajkoveckja* as an attempt to show the peculiarities of this culture and its membership in the broader culture of the Eastern Slavs.¹⁴ Dan Gh. Teodor supports the Romanic character of this early medieval culture and considers the names *Hlincea I-Luka Rajkoveckaja* or *Romen-Borševo* unsuitable for the Romanian regions, all the more so as the differences between the Hlincea culture and that of *Luka Rajkoveckaja* are obvious.¹⁵

Gh. B. Fëdorov and L. L. Polevoj attribute the discoveries from Hlincea I group (the eighth–ninth centuries) to the Eastern Slavs, formed on the basis of early Slavic elements from the sixth–seventh centuries, using as his argument the “continuous contacts between the Slavs from the southwestern USSR and continuous migration of the Slavs into the Danubian regions.”¹⁶ Deepened types of dwellings, stone or clay ovens as heating installations, and handmade pottery decorated with alveoles or grooves on the rims had been seen across a wide range in early medieval Europe. It is thus quite difficult to determine ethnic belonging on their basis alone. Nestor argued that trying to distinguish ethnic differentiation, especially a difference so important historically as the one between the Eastern, Western and Southern Slavs, only on the basis of ceramics is extremely tendentious, as much as we may be convinced that a careful study of pottery can and must bring important contributions to bear on solving such problems.¹⁷ At the

8 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 86.

9 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 88.

10 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 89.

11 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 89.

12 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 91, 138.

13 Chişvasi-Comşa, “Slavii de răsarit,” 78.

14 Comşa, “Slavii pe teritoriul,” 67–68.

15 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 89, 137.

16 Fëdorov and Polevoj, *Arheologija Rumynii*, 300–2.

17 Nestor, “Slavii pe teritoriul,” 55–56.

same time, this Romanian archaeologist notes that the archaic Slavic culture had generally retained its own character and, in some places, to a great extent, at least until the middle of the tenth century.¹⁸

Luka Rajkoveckaja Culture

The name of this archaeological culture comes from the eponymous town of Rajki and the historical toponym *Luka*, where dwellings, stone ovens, handmade pottery, and other archaeological items were found during excavations at the Slavic fortress. This became a “benchmark” for assigning archaeological sites dating from the eighth–tenth centuries in the Soviet era, both east of the Dniester and in the Prut-Dniester space.¹⁹ The emergence and evolution of *Luka Rajkoveckaja* culture in the regions between the Carpathians and the Dniester were attributed by Soviet archaeologists to an Eastern Slavic migration from the regions near the river Bug and its later extension to the Carpathian-Danubian areas.²⁰ More recently, R. Rabinovič argued that the bearers of *Luka Rajkoveckaja* culture were Slavs from the western areas of the middle Danube.²¹ I. Nestor, referring to the discoveries of the Eastern Slavs, uses the notion of a joint Romen-Borševo-Luka Rajkoveckaja culture,²² but M. Comşa explained the differences between these two cultures, considered as a unitary cultural complex until the 1950s.²³

Gh. Postică understood the archaeological vestiges of the eighth–ninth centuries in the Prut-Dniester space through the lens of a new cultural framework, the *Hansca-Scoc-Kodyn-Revno*, encompassed by the area of the sites of the *Lozna-Dodeşti* type (Hlincea) from the regions between the Carpathians and the river Prut, noting that the same sites are called *Luka Rajkoveckaja* by some archaeologists.²⁴

Balkan-Danubian Culture

Terminology which highlights the particularities and chronology of this culture has been thoroughly debated in European historiography. Thus, in the second half of the twentieth

¹⁸ Nestor, “Slavii pe teritoriul,” 60.

¹⁹ V. K. Gončarov, *Rajkoveckoe gorodišče* (Kiev, 1950).

²⁰ Fëdorov, “Naselenie”; V. D. Baran, “Slavjane v seredine I tys. n.è.,” in *Problemy etnogeneza slavjan* (Kiev, 1978), 5–39; Timoščuk, *Slov’jani*; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja*; Timoščuk, *Vostočnye slavjane*; Baran, *Slov’jans’ka obščina*; Rafalovič, *Slavjane*; Mihajlina, *Naselenija*; N. P. Tel’nov, *Vostočnoslavjanskije drevnosti dnestrovsko-prutskogo meždureč’ja VIII–X vv.* Avtoreferat dissertacii na sosikanie naučnoj stepeni kandidata istoričeskikh nauk (Leningrad, 1990); P. Tel’nov, “Vostočnoslavjanskije drevnosti VIII–X vv. Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo meždureč’ja,” *Stratum plus. Neslavjanskoe v slavjanskom mire* 5 (1999): 313–27; Tel’nov, “Vostočnoslavjanskije drevnosti Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo meždureč’ja VIII–X vv.,” *Stratum plus* 5 (2001–2002): 142–263.

²¹ R. Rabinovič, “O kul’turnom i hronologičeskom sootnošenii Alčedarskogo i Brëneškogo mogil’nikov,” *RA* 1 (2005): 120–32; R. Rabinovič, “Noži s voljutoobraznymi rukojatkami na territorii Moldovy i ih kul’turno-istoričeskij kontekst,” *RA* 1 (2005): 351–59.

²² Nestor, “Slavii pe teritoriul,” 56, 61.

²³ Comşa, “Slavii pe teritoriul,” 67n4.

²⁴ Postică, *Civilizația medievală*.

century, the notion of a Balkan-Danubian or Carpathian-Balkan culture was introduced into the scientific circuit. Most affirmations are based on its ethnic or political attribution, even with the usage of terms trending towards ethnic identifications—“Slavic-Bulgarian, Turkish-Bulgarian, of the first Bulgarian Tzardom.” The chronology of this culture has also been widely discussed in the historiography, operating with different dates: the eighth–eleventh centuries, the ninth–eleventh centuries, the tenth–eleventh centuries, the tenth–fourteenth centuries, and so on.

Based on discoveries in the settlements at Dridu and Garvăn, I. Nestor defined the concept of “Dridu” culture, considering it a characteristic of the final stage of the ethnogenesis of the Romanians.²⁵ Nestor noticed the sudden appearance of Dridu culture on the Wallachian Plain following the second half of the tenth century,²⁶ a view that was later endorsed by G. Bakó.²⁷ In the context of the political transformations in 1960s Romania, I. Nestor expanded the spread of Dridu culture throughout the space inhabited by the Romanians and lowered its date of genesis to the middle of the ninth century.²⁸

In contrast to I. Nestor, M. Comşa linked the dissemination of Dridu culture to the expansion of Bulgaria north of the Danube and opted for the name “Balkan-Danubian culture,”²⁹ one that was composed of several ethnic and cultural elements from Romanic, Slavic, Proto-Bulgarian, and Byzantine traditions.³⁰ The formal border between the Slavic tribes in the east and those from the south was thus fixed on the Jijie valley and the river Bic.³¹ Based on the discoveries at Bucov, M. Comşa highlighted another archaeological culture that he attributed exclusively to the Romanians, the inhabitants of the areas with a higher relief.³² This view was supported by C. Daicovicu, who argued that the Romanic population withdrew from the plains areas when the Slavs came, and that Dridu culture could not possibly belong to the Romanians.³³ This

25 I. Nestor, “Contributions archéologiques au problème des Proto-Roumains. La civilisation de Dridu. Note préliminaire,” *Dacia N.S.* 2 (1958): 371–82.

26 Nestor, “Slavii pe teritoriul,” 61.

27 G. Bakó considers phase I of Dridu culture beginning with the second half of the tenth century. G. Bakó, “Despre organizarea obştilor săteşti ale epocii feudale timpurii din sud-estul României,” *SCIVA* 3 (1975): 371.

28 I. Nestor, “Les données archéologiques et le problème de la formation du peuple roumain,” *RRH* 3 (1964): 414.

29 Chişvasi-Comşa, “Slavii de răsărit,” 82, fig. 2.

30 M. Chişvasi-Comşa, “Unele concluzii istorice pe baza ceramicii din secolele VI–XII,” *SCIV* 1–4 (1957): 267–94; M. Chişvasi-Comşa, “Cîteva date arheologice în legătură cu stăpînirea bulgară în nordul Dunării în secolele IX–X,” in *Omagiu lui Constantin Daicovicu cu prilejul împlinirii a 60 de ani* (Bucureşti, 1960), 69–81; M. Comşa, “Die bulgarische Herrschaft nördlich der Donau während des IX. und X. Jh. im Lichte der archäologischen Forschungen,” *Dacia N.S.* 4 (1960): 395–422; Comşa, “Cu privire la evoluţia culturii balcano-dunărene în sec. IX–XI (studiu preliminar),” *SCIV* 14 (1963): 107–22.

31 Chişvasi-Comşa, “Slavii de răsărit,” 82, fig. 1.

32 M. Chişvasi-Comşa, “Săpăturile de la Bucov,” *MCA* 6 (1959): 567–78; Comşa, *Cultura materială*.

33 C. Daicovicu, “Originea poporului român după cele mai noi cercetări,” in *Unitate şi continuitate în istoria poporului român* (Bucureşti, 1968), 90–91.

attitude towards I. Nestor can largely be explained by the personal relationship between the two archaeologists.³⁴ H. Daicoviciu largely supported the ideas of C. Daicoviciu, attributing Dridu culture to the Slavic-Bulgarian population and Bucov culture to the Romanian population.³⁵ E. Zacharias synthesized the sites from this culture by publishing the results of excavations at the settlement at Dridu;³⁶ this synthesis supported I. Nestor's ideas, but viewed the second half of the tenth century as the beginning of this culture.³⁷ A few years later, E. Zacharias returned to the chronology of this culture, pushing the lower temporal limit back to the eighth century, considering it as the final stage in the process of formation of the Romanian people³⁸ and totally excluding the role of the Slavs in Dridu culture.³⁹ E. Zaharia affirmed: "We emphasize that no culture was known between the eighth and the ninth centuries, except Dridu, on the territory of our country," and that "the similarity of material culture in the northern and southern regions of the Danube is due to the local Daco-Thracian-Roman fund, based on which it had developed."⁴⁰ This idea was also supported by Dan Gh. Teodor, who mentioned that "the civilization of the Dridu type can only be the old Romanian one," while

to attribute Dridu culture to a Slavic-Bulgarian population that had come from the south of the Danube and, ostensibly, would have gradually occupied all the Carpathian-Danubian space in the ninth–tenth centuries AD, based only on the fact that its variants are also found in some (limited) zones between the river, the Black Sea, and the Balkan Mountains, proves not only the misunderstanding of historical development in the respective regions, but also an overall ignorance of the fundamental features that characterize the content of a material culture created under direct Roman and Byzantine influence.⁴¹

Dan Gh. Teodor views the constitution of Dridu civilization during the eighth–eleventh centuries as the result of a long process based on Daco-Roman traditions.⁴²

34 A. Madgearu, *Cultura Dridu și evoluția poziției României în lagărul socialist*, Comunicare susținută în cadrul conferinței *History, Culture and Civilization in Southeastern Europe*, 10th ed. of the International Academic Conference *Culture and Civilization in South-Eastern Europe*, Chișinău, April 13–16, 2006, secțiunea I, *Arheologia între Știință, Ideologie și Propagandă* in <http://egg.mnir.ro>, studii, Dridu, Drid_frame.htm (accessed 06.18.2018), notes 24 and 25.

35 M. Constantinescu, ed., *Istoria României. Compendiu* (București, 1969), 106.

36 Zaharia, *Săpăturile de la Dridu*, 103–34.

37 Zaharia, *Săpăturile de la Dridu*, 135–46.

38 Zaharia, *Săpăturile de la Dridu*, 283–87.

39 E. Zaharia, "Cultura Dridu și problemele arheologiei și istoriei sec. VIII–XI e.n.," *Carpica* 14 (1982): 87–91.

40 Zaharia, *Săpăturile de la Dridu*, 165.

41 Teodor, *Creștinismul*, 39.

42 Teodor, *Creștinismul*, 39.

The concept of a uniformization of the material culture during the eighth–tenth centuries throughout Romania was later supported by L. Bârzu,⁴³ who also adopted the expression “old Romanian culture.”⁴⁴ P. Iambor attempts to determine the range of Dridu culture north of the Danube (Wallachia, central and southern Moldova, southern Transylvania, the middle Mures and the middle Tisza to Bihor) and south of the river (between the Danube and Balkan, especially in the east), while at the same time highlighting the relatively uniform character of this culture that reached its evolutionary peak in the ninth–tenth centuries. The pottery is the main distinctive feature of Dridu culture, and the presence of gray polished pottery within it is attributed to *Saltovo-Majack* culture bearers. Ethnically, the society was composed of diverse elements brought here from different regions of Europe (the southern Slavs, the Bulgarians, the Romanians, the Moravian Slavs, and so on).⁴⁵

S. A. Pletneva argued that the culture called Balkan-Danubian is the Bulgarian variant of Saltovo culture,⁴⁶ but later renounced this idea, noting that this culture belonged to the first Bulgarian Khanate of the ninth–tenth century, and underwent much interchange with the Hazare culture of the Saltovo-Majack type.⁴⁷ In Soviet historiography, the Balkan-Danubian culture was mainly attributed to the Bulgarian Khanate, with predominantly Slavic elements, but into which elements of the culture Saltovo-Turkey were intermixed without excluding the presence of elements of a Romanic population.⁴⁸

Hîncu argued that the “archaeological culture Dridu represents a historical phenomenon with ancient local traditions that had developed under the influence of the civilizations of many peoples. Among the elements of Dridu culture there are Daco-Roman, Slavic, Turanian, and ones of other natures.”⁴⁹ Thus, this Bessarabian archaeologist distinguished three main ethnic elements within the Balkan-Danubian

43 L. Bârzu, *La continuité de la création matérielle et spirituelle du peuple roumain sur le territoire de l'ancienne Dacie* (Bucarest, 1980), 86–87.

44 L. Bârzu and S. Breazeanu, *Originea și continuitatea românilor. Arheologie și tradiție istorică* (București, 1991), 205, 226.

45 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 236–37.

46 S. A. Pletneva, “Ot kočevij k gorodam,” in *MIA* 142 (Moskva, 1967): 7–8, 12, 187, 188, fig. 50.

47 Pletneva, “Ot kočevij”; Pletneva, “Saltovo-majackaja kul’tura,” in *Arheologija SSSR: stepi Evrazii v epohu srednevekov’ja* (Moskva, 1981), 62–74; Pletneva, “Balkano-Dunajskaja kul’tura,” in *Arheologija SSSR: stepi Evrazii v epohu srednevekov’ja* (Moskva, 1981), 75–77; Pletneva, *Na slavjano-hazarskom*; Pletneva, “Hazarskaja problema v arheologii,” *SA* 2 (1990): 88.

48 G. B. Fëdorov and G. F. Čebotarenko, “Kul’tura pervogo Bolgarskogo carstva v Karpatu-Dunajskih i Karpatu-Dnestrovskih zemljah,” in *Tezisy dokladov vsesozuznoj sessii, posvjaščennoj itogam arheologičeskikh issledovanii 1966 g.* (Kišinev, 1967), 28–29; Fëdorov, and Polevoj, *Arheologija Rumynii*, 303–4; G. B. Fëdorov and V. M. Negruša, “Slavjane i balkano-dunajskaja arheologičeskaja kul’tura,” in *Kompleksnye problemy istorii i kul’tury narodov vental’noj i jugo-vostočnoj Evropy* (Moskva, 1979).

49 I. G. Hîncu, “Triburile tiverților și ulicilor în spațiul carpato-nistrean,” in *Spațiul Nord-Est Carpatic în mileniul întunecat*, ed. V. Spinei (Iași, 1997), 126.

culture: Slavic, Turcoman-Bulgarian, and Wallachian (Romanic),⁵⁰ noting from the start that hillforts are not characteristic of the bearers of this culture.⁵¹ Dwellings and semi-dugouts with stone or clay ovens, pots with a turned rim and the body in the shape of a truncated cone, tapered bowls with straight or slightly curved edges, pitchers with a high vertical lip ornamented on the shoulders or the body of the vessel with straight or, rarely, wavy incized lines; these are the practices that Hîncu considered characteristic of the Slavic population.⁵² I. Hîncu, based on discoveries in the Prut-Dniester space characteristic of the Balkan-Danubian culture, showed that Slavic pottery is found in small quantities in the investigated settlements.⁵³ Semi-dugouts with ovens in their central areas, pots with a thickened lip and a barrel-form body ornamented with incized lines made with an object with teeth, polished ceramics with incized ornament, burials in circular pits with the deceased in a crouched position, and the burials of whole animals and of animal residues were specific to the communities following Turkish-Bulgarian tradition (Saltovo).⁵⁴ Semi-dugouts and dwellings with heating ovens in one of the corners, pots with a turned lip, handles in the form of a ribbon, pots with lids and a tapered or pear-shaped body, conical cups, and so on, are evidence of a Romanian population. He also stated that, as a result of coexistence and evolution, the communities of the Balkan-Danubian type had created a culture with its own peculiarities, combining cultural elements, earlier characteristics of different ethnic backgrounds (the presence of dwellings, heating installations, and ceramics of various types in the same settlement). All those are to demonstrate the existence of an ethnically and culturally polymorphic society.⁵⁵

Bucov Culture

Based on discoveries in the settlement at Bucov, chronologically assigned to the eighth-tenth century, Comşa tried to determine the features of a new archaeological culture.⁵⁶ This view was endorsed by some Soviet archaeologists, who argued that this Bucov culture would have belonged to Romanian culture and that the Balkan-Danubian culture belonged to a mixed population.⁵⁷ M. Comşa held that there were large differences between the discoveries (the type of the houses, ceramics, economic occupations, etc.) at Dridu and those at Bucov and thus the settlement at Bucov cannot belong to the Dridu culture, deploying the assumption that, in the Carpathian-Balkan space of the ninth-tenth century, there was an apparently unitary widespread culture within which several variants or local groups can be defined, which also differentiated ethnically between

50 I. G. Hynku, "Balkano-dunajskaja kul'tura lesostepnoj Moldavii v X-XIV vv.," in *Očerki istorii kul'tury Moldavii (II-XIV vv.)*, ed. Ė. A. Rikman, I. A. Rafalovič, and I. G. Hynku (Kišinev, 1971), 175.

51 Hîncu, "Triburile tivertilor," 126.

52 Hynku, "Balkano-dunajskaja," 175-76.

53 Hynku, "Balkano-dunajskaja," 121-22, 123.

54 Hynku, "Balkano-dunajskaja," 176-77.

55 Kozlov, *Naselenie stepnogo meždurec'ja*, 215-29.

56 Comşa, *Cultura materială*.

57 Fëdorov and Polevoj, *Arheologija Rumynii*, 307.

themselves.⁵⁸ At the same time, M. Comşa stated that the name “Dridu” was not representative, as at Dridu only the last stages of this culture and only a certain regional aspect thereof were present.⁵⁹

M. Comşa mentioned that the Romanians of the ninth–tenth centuries were bearers of many cultures, and probably thereby meant that it was a society with multicultural traditions. We should understand that the Dridu culture or Balkan-Danubian culture represents an over-ethnicized archaeological reality,⁶⁰ even if Soviet and Bulgarian archaeologists attribute Balkan-Danubian culture to the Slavic-Bulgarian communities.

Gh. Diaconu, in the context of discussions of the names and chronologies of some cultures in Roman Dacia and extra-Carpathian regions in the first millennium, also referred to the period of the eighth–tenth centuries, mentioning that scholars used improper terminology (Dridu, Bucov, Blandiana, Carpathian-Danubian, Carpathian-Balkan Hlincea, Dodeşti etc.), because in that period the old Romanian population is fully attested to by archaeological sources and began to be mentioned in written sources as well, thus arguing that we ought give up the above names and use the notion of an *old Romanian culture or period*.⁶¹

The economic and technological transformations at the heart of these communities north of the Lower Danube were continuous. The reappearance of the potter’s wheel in the eighth–ninth centuries led to a diversification of ceramic forms and their ornamentation, while an evolution of metalworking technology took place, among other significant developments. Demographic, economic, social, and political processes which occurred north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–ninth centuries provided an absolutely superior cultural leap as compared to the previous period, and one with a direct impact on the subsequent centuries. Thus, the material culture of the eighth–eleventh centuries, demonstrated in the north and the south of the Danube in its full form, does not only reflect the reality of an ethnic order, but rather the level of the socio-economic, cultural, and political development of the populations that lived in this space. Therefore, cultural concepts are merely conventions, the content of which is changeable.⁶² Archaeological studies should be focused more on content and less on the form of a material and spiritual culture characteristic of a community or a society. F. Daim mentioned that many archaeologists are at ease with only one “archaeological culture,” leaving in the shadows the situation of the neighbouring regions.⁶³ For a better understanding of the

58 M. Comşa, “Contribuții la cunoașterea culturii străromîne în lumina săpăturilor de la Bucov,” *SCIV* 1 (1959): 94.

59 Comşa, “Cu privire,” 107n1.

60 Madgearu, *Cultura Dridu*, 4.

61 Gh. Diaconu, “Despre denumirea și cronologia unor culturi din Dacia romană și regiunile extracarpatice în mileniul I e.n.,” *SCIVA* 30 (1979): 551–53.

62 E. S. Teodor, “O frontieră incertă a lumii romane—Câmpia Dunării de Jos în epoca lui Justinian,” *CA* 12 (2003): 333.

63 Daim, “Istorija i arhaeologija avar,” 292.

archaeological realities of a particular period and geographical framework, they must be analysed in a much wider chronological and spatial context.

The Ethnic Attributions of Discoveries

As it has been shown in the section on the historiography of the problem, many discussions have been held regarding the ethnic and cultural attribution of archaeological discoveries dating from the eighth–ninth centuries on the territories north of the Lower Danube. In the 1950s and 1960s archaeological campaigns were initiated in most countries of the socialist camp to demonstrate the presence, the importance, and autochthonism of the Slavs in these regions. The politicization of archaeology had direct consequences on the quality of studies and on discussions of ethnic and cultural evaluation of the discoveries. In Romania, for example, the sites discovered from the eighth–tenth centuries were classified as being similar to settlements of Slavs from the Romen-Borševo culture⁶⁴ or the Luka Rajkoveckaja culture.⁶⁵ In the Prut-Dniester space, on the component territories of the Moldavian SSR and Ukrainian SSR, all early medieval discoveries were attributed solely to the Slavs, though the situation has changed in recent years.⁶⁶ Referring to the issue of ethnic evaluation in archaeology, Z. Trudzik, in his review of a book written by I. Kramakowa, uses the term “ethnischer Nihilismus,” and later this notion was the subject of a special study by K. Godłowski, unpublished due to communist censorship in 1972.⁶⁷ A similar case occurred in Chişinău, when one of the works of the late I. Hâncu was rejected for print by communist censorship, not being published until recently.⁶⁸

The early medieval period, which is to say the eighth–ninth centuries, have often been named differently in European historiography, often based on ethnic issues. We’ll continue with just a few examples. K. Horedt stated that Transylvania was entirely slavized in the seventh century, and thus termed the period of the seventh–eleventh centuries

⁶⁴ Petrescu-Dîmboviţă, “Rezultatele ultimelor.”

⁶⁵ M. Petrescu-Dîmboviţă, “Données archéologiques relatives aux établissements slaves de l’époque ancienne en Moldavie,” *SIArch* (1958).

⁶⁶ I. Hîncu and Gh. Postică, “Despre greşeli evidente şi falsificări intenţionate din istoria veche a Moldovei,” in *Pagini de istorie* (Chişinău, 1991), 3–18; Postică, *Românii*; Gh. Postică, *Civilizaţia veche românească din Moldova* (Chişinău, 1995); Postică, *Civilizaţia medievală*; I. Tentiuc, “Particularităţi şi semnificaţii ale ritului şi ritualului funerar în spaţiul est-carpatic în secolele XI–XIII,” *Tyragetia* 10 (2001): 123–30.

⁶⁷ The article was published in the volume of studies by K. Godłowski only in 2005, K. Godłowski, “Zum sogenannten ‘ethnischen Nihilismus’ in der Archäologie,” in *Frühe Slawen in Mitteleuropa*. Schriften von Kazimir Godłowski, Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Archäologie der Ostseegebiete, Band 6, ed. J. Bemmann and M. Parczewski (Wachholtz Verlag, 2005), 47–51. Fusek wrote about this case in G. Fusek, “‘Slawen’ oder Slawen? Eine polemische Auseinandersetzung über eine wertvolle Monographie,” *SIArch* 52 (2004): 161–86.

⁶⁸ Although the manuscript of the work *Naselenie Moldavii v X–XIV vv.* was delivered to the publisher Ştiinţa in 1977, it was rejected a year later (1978) and published just in 2016.

the *Slawische Zeit*.⁶⁹ G. B. termed all the ceramics and the period of the sixth–ninth centuries *rannelslavjanskaja*, and the period of the ninth–eleventh centuries he termed *drevnerusskaja*.⁷⁰ The ethnic attribution of a community and even of a society, based solely on ceramics, is unjustified. Thus, S. Dumitrașcu’s explanation regarding the gradual disappearance of handmade pottery during the eighth–ninth centuries in relation to the leaving or assimilation of the Slavic or Avar-Slavic elements by the Romanian population is also insufficiently justified to explain the phenomenon of acculturation.⁷¹ N. P. Tel’nov, referring to the same archaeological realities relating to the eighth–tenth centuries in the Prut-Dniester space, usually uses the terms *vostočnoslavjanskije drevnosti, slavjanskije žilišča*, or similar in his works published in Moldova,⁷² and in the similar articles published in Romania he uses the term *early medieval complexes*.⁷³ S. Dumitrașcu attributes the discoveries of the seventh–eleventh centuries to the *old Romanian epoch, the Romanian population, the old Romanian culture*, or to the *indigenous Romanian civilization and culture*, which is based on “its specific elements and their Daco-Roman and Byzantine style,”⁷⁴ the concepts that are supported by other archaeologists from Romania⁷⁵ and the Republic of Moldova.⁷⁶ The authors of the records of Avar discoveries from the Carpathian Basin, mostly the Hungarians, prefer the term *the late epoch of migrations* (the sixth–eighth centuries).⁷⁷ Considering that the last waves of migrants entered the Carpathian-Danubian regions in the tenth–thirteenth centuries,⁷⁸ the concept of *late migrations* does not

69 K. Horedt distinguished several cultural groups in Transylvania of the Slavic period: *Mediaș, Nușfalău, Gâmbaș, Blandiana, Ciumbud, Cluj*. Horedt, *Siebenbürgen*, 59–110; Horedt, *Das frühmittelalterliche Siebenbrgen. Ein Überblick* (Thaur, Innsbruck, 1988).

70 Fëdorov, “Naselenie,” 180–81.

71 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 246.

72 Tel’nov, *Vostočnoslavjanskije*; 1991a; 1999; 2001–2002a.

73 Tel’nov, “Complexe medievale.”

74 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 180, 188, 192, 248.

75 D. Gh. Teodor, “Apartenența etnică a culturii Dridu,” *CI* 4 (1973): 127–41; D. Gh. Teodor, “Probleme actuale ale etnogenezei poporului român,” *AIIA “A.D. Xenopol”* 17 (1980): 105–15; Teodor, “Preliminariile culturii vechi românești,” *Mousaios* 6 (2001): 89–96; Șt. Olteanu, “Realități demografice pe teritoriul Moldovei de nord în secolele VIII–XI e.n.,” *Suceava* 8 (1981): 193–98; Olteanu, *Societatea carpato-danubiano-pontică*; Șt. Olteanu, R. Popa, and M. Rusu, “Structuri politice (uniuni de obști, “Romanii” populare, voievodate și “țări” românești),” in *Istoria Românilor. Genezele românești*, ed. Șt. Pascu and R. Theodorescu, 3 (București, 2001): 93–102.

76 I. Hîncu, “Soarta românilor din Basarabia în evul mediu timpuriu (schiță istorico-arheologică),” in *Din istoria Europei romane*, ed. S. Dumitrașcu (Oradea, 1995), 321–35; Hîncu, “Cu privire la cultura”; I. Hîncu, “Alogenii și soarta băștinașilor din spațiul pruto-nistrean în antichitate și evul mediu timpuriu,” *CLIO* (1998): 5–18; Hîncu, “Semnificația etnoculturală a unor așezări arheologice de pe teritoriul actual al Republicii Moldova,” *Tyragetia* 9 (2000): 119–26; Postică, *Civilizația veche*; Postică, *Civilizația medievală timpurie*, 61–63.

77 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*.

78 V. Spinei, “Aspecte economice și sociale ale evoluției comunităților locale din spațiul est-carpatic în sec. X–XIII,” *Hierarus* 1 (1979): 217–42; Spinei, “Considerații cu privire la populația locală din

accurately reflect the ethnic-demographic and political situation in the region. Therefore, we believe that even if the eighth–ninth centuries had benefited from relatively tranquil politics at certain times, they remain an integral part of the era of migrations, which included a wide time interval (the third–thirteenth centuries).

The number of written sources regarding the seventh–ninth centuries is quite modest and the information available is of a general nature, such as that gleaned from Byzantine sources. Al. Madgearu, analysing the contents of the letter of the Pope Nicole I to Michael III (858–867) and the probability of his reference to the populations of the Lower Danube, mentions that at that time (865) the Lower Danube was inhabited only by the Romanians and Slavic groups undergoing assimilation, further stating that “the Scythians are more likely the Romanians than the Slavs.”⁷⁹ In all likelihood, once the Pope had claims on the archiepiscopacy at Thessaloniki, he related more to the *Scythian* population north of the Balkans who spoke Latin than to the populations north of the Lower Danube. This does not, however, exclude the idea of the presence of a Romanic population in the Carpathian-Balkan regions in the eighth–ninth centuries, which could have been referred to as *Scythians* by the Byzantines as well.

The names of many populations outside the borders of the Empire are often conventionalized, which means that the Byzantine authors did not give enough attention to the contemporary ethnic realities and used archaic ethnonyms (*the Scythians, the Getae, the Huns*).⁸⁰ Thus, the emperor Konstantin Porphyrogenitus, referring to the late Turanian migration in his work *De thematibus*, who arrived near the Danube in the ninth century, makes mention of them as *the Scythians* and refers to *the country of the Scythians*,⁸¹ highlighting that the Protobulgarians were also called *the Onogurs* before they had reached the south of the Danube.⁸² On the other hand, Konstantin Porphyrogenitus refers to the local population of Dalmatia with the name *Ρωμάνοι* (Romanoi), distinguishing them from the residents of Byzantium, called *Ρωμαίοι* (Romanoi).⁸³

The Russian chronicle *Povest' Vremennyh Let* mentions the passage of the Hungarians over the Carpathians, reporting that they “began to fight with the Wallachians and the Slavs who lived there,” “for the Slavs had settled there first, then the Wallachians came who subdued the Slavic country, then the Hungarians came, casting the Wallachians out and conquering this country, they had settled with the Slavs and conquered them afterwards.”⁸⁴ The Tyvertsy and the Ulych are mentioned in the same chronicle.⁸⁵ Thus, the

zona centrală și meridională a Moldovei în secolele XI–XII,” *CI S.N.* 12–13 (1981–1982): 173–203; Spinei, *Realități etnice*; Spinei, *Moldova*; Spinei, *Marile migrații din spațiul nord-pontic în secolele IX–XIII* (Iași, 1995); Spinei, *Ultimele valuri*; Spinei, *Marile migrații*.

79 Madgearu, “Românii,” 321.

80 Konstantin Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus*, *FHDR* 2, 671; Genesis, *FHDR* 2, 655.

81 *FHDR* 2, 669, 671.

82 *FHDR* 2, 671.

83 *FHDR* 2, 657, 660–61, 666–67.

84 *Povest' Vremennyh Let*, 217.

85 *Povest' Vremennyh Let*, 20–21, 23, 33.

Russian chronicler shows that when the Hungarians came the Carpathian regions were already inhabited by an ethnically and culturally variegated population.

The ethnic composition of the territories north of the Lower Danube is also referred to by the chronicle *Gesta Hungarorum*, by an anonymous notary. It mentions the populations that lived in Pannonia and on the Tisza Plain repeatedly, showing the ethnic and cultural variety of the population on the territories where the Hungarians arrived in the late ninth century to the beginning of the tenth century. Thus, the Hungarian notary, while praising the riches of Pannonia, mentions the inhabitants of this country as being Slavs, Bulgarians, and Blachi, and the pastors of the Romans: *Quem terram habitarent sclauij, Bulgari jet Blachij, ac pastores Romanorum* (that land was populated by slavs, Bulgarians and Valachs, as shepherds of the Romans),⁸⁶ Referring to the armies of the local leaders, the Hungarian chronicler wrote that the duke Menumorut, “with the proud heart of a Bulgarian,”⁸⁷ had an army composed of different nations—the Khazars, the Szecklers, and the Blachi from the Bihor area, which information was confirmed by Simon of Keza.⁸⁸ Glad had an army composed of Kumans, Bulgarians, and Blachi.⁸⁹ Gelu possessed the rich lands in Transylvania,⁹⁰ inhabited by the Slavs and the Blachi and suffering from the invasions of the Kumans and the Pechenegs.⁹¹ The mention of the Kumans is surprising, however, for such an early period (the end of the ninth to the beginning of the tenth centuries), as it is inconsistent with the historical record and, obviously, refers to later events closer to the time when the anonymous author of the Hungarian chronicle lived.

We note that both the Hungarian and the Russian sources mention the presence of several ethnic groups on the Carpathian-Danubian territories by the end of the ninth century. The modesty of the written information is supplemented by archaeological sources, which are the most numerous at the moment, and based on which we can formulate many different conclusions about the peculiarities of the material culture and the ethnic order of communities in the eighth–ninth centuries north of the Lower Danube. The material culture of this period is characterized by a high degree of uniformity over the stretched spaces of Europe, so that ethnic attributions based only on material culture are quite difficult. Most ethnic attributions are thus based on funerary discoveries.

⁸⁶ *Gesta Hungarorum*, IX. De pace inter duces et Ruthenos.

⁸⁷ *proprios bulgarice corde* (Specific to the Bulgarian heart), *Gesta Hungarorum*, 96–97.

⁸⁸ *cum Blachis in montibus confinii sortem habuerum* (Vlachs in the mountains when we confine a lot), de Keza, VI.

⁸⁹ *cum magno exercitu et peditum adiutorio Cumanorum et Bulgarorum atque Blachorum* (With a great army and the assistance of Cuman, Bulgarian and Valach soldiers), Anonimus, XLIV.

⁹⁰ *dum cepisset audire ab incolis bonitatem terre Ultransilvane, ubi Gelou quidam Blachus dominium tenebat* (When he heard from the inhabitants about the goodness of the lands of Ultransylvania, where Gelou, a Valach, was ruling), Anonimus, XXIV.

⁹¹ *Quia essent Blasii et Sclauj, quia alia arma non haberent, nisi arcum et sagittas ... quita a Cumani set Picenatis multas iniurias peterentur* (Because these were vlachs and slavs, who did not have any weaponry, only possessing bows and arrows ... and therefore received much damage from Cumans and Pecenegs), Anonimus, XXV.

For instance, Dan Gh. Teodor, based on data derived from the study of this category of discoveries, tried to highlight certain ethnic characteristics, and thus attributes the inhumation graves at Stoicani-Galați to what was “certainly old Romanian population,” while the incineration graves at Vinețești-Vaslui and Dodești-*Stația CFR Sodești*, “could be attributed to some groups of either the non-Christian or Slavic indigenous population.”⁹² The lack of a full publication of the archaeological discoveries from several cemeteries complicates the realization of some general studies, but it is possible to draw certain conclusions in some cases:

- inhumation cemeteries in whose graves, in addition to human skeletons, horse bones or skeletons and a rich inventory, consisting of pieces of various kinds, such as clothing, pieces of harness, and weapons were discovered, which belonged to the Avar population;
- inhumation graves, where the deceased are in a crouched position, usually oriented North-South, which have offerings of animals or graves of the cenotaph type, belonged, in all likelihood, to the Bulgarians, possibly mixed with elements from the steppes of the north Caucasus (Iranian-Turcik);
- incineration cemeteries with ashen remains deposited into pits, urns, or cisterns are characteristic of the Slavic population;⁹³
- inhumation graves oriented east to west are characteristic of some local Christian communities following Romanic traditions.

The period of the eighth–ninth centuries is considered the final stage of the Romanian ethnogenesis in the Romanian historiography. Gh. I. Brătianu notes the fact that, among those “three successive ethnic layers” that are the basis of the formation of the Romanian people, the first one was made by the “Romanized settlers, left in Dacia,” the second by “the prisoners brought from across the Danube by the Germanic warriors, the Huns, the Avars and the Slavs,” and the third one by the “Romanized population of those two Aurelian Dacias” that ran away “from the ways of the Slavs who had settled in Bulgaria, on the one hand, pushing into Thessaly and Epirus those who would become the Wallachians from Pind, and, on the other hand, occupying the regions of what is now Yugoslavia.”⁹⁴ Thus, this Romanian historian shows the cultural and ethnic diversity in the conditions under which the process of the formation of the Romanian people was completed. K. Horedt, referring to Romanian continuity, shows that it can be tracked south of the Danube, where it was displaced into the regions north of the river under Slavic and Bulgarian pressure.⁹⁵ This idea was taken up by U. Fiedler,⁹⁶ who, based on the funerary discoveries of the sixth–ninth centuries on the Lower Danube,

⁹² Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 24.

⁹³ Olteanu et al., “Modul de viață a comunităților umane,” 85.

⁹⁴ Gh. I. Brătianu, *O enigmă și un miracol istoric: poporul român* (Chișinău, 1993), 80–81.

⁹⁵ Horedt, *Siebenbürgen*, 59–110; Horedt, *Das frühmittelalterliche*.

⁹⁶ Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*.

stated that the Wallachians penetrated north of the Danube in the seventh–ninth centuries as a result of transhumance and settled on territories populated by the Slavs, where they consummated the Romanian ethnogenesis. M. Rusu believes that a long cultural Romanian-Slavic symbiosis and synthesis occurred in Transylvania,⁹⁷ and that the emergence of fortresses there was linked to their common interest in defending themselves against the new invaders—the Hungarians, the Pechenegs, the Kumans. Also, the author mentions that the Romanization of the Slavic population and of the rests of the Avars and the Bulgarians continued during the military domination of the Pechenegs and the Kumans following the second half of the tenth century to the eleventh century.⁹⁸ P. Iambor supports M. Rusu’s idea regarding the Romanian-Slavic composition of the population of Transylvania in the ninth–tenth centuries⁹⁹ and believes that the earthen hillforts in Transylvania are specific to the Slavic environment, without excluding their connection with the appearance of the Moravian Slavs in these regions in the ninth century.¹⁰⁰

In the eighth–ninth centuries the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space was bounded on the north and the north-east by Slavic populations, the bearers of Luka Rajkoveckaja culture, by the Slavic and the Turanik populations in the east, the bearers of Saltovo-Majack culture,¹⁰¹ by the Avars and the Slavs in the west, by the Moravian Slavs in the north-west, and by the Bulgarians, the Slavs, and the Romans in the south. Byzantine cultural elements were present in this period in small numbers, which would mean that the relations between the populations north of the Lower Danube and Byzantium were quite modest and occasional. We will not focus on different aspects of the problem of the continuity of the Daco-Roman and Romanic elements on the territories north of the Lower Danube, which have been widely debated in the historiography in the past decades. However, it is certain that a number of migratory populations had passed through these regions during the early Middle Ages, transforming this region into an area characterized by a heterogeneous ethnic and cultural structure.

The Romanics

The native population north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries was referred to in a number of different ways in the archaeological and historical literature, using the ethnonyms *the Romanics*, *the great-Romanians*, *the proto-Romanians*, *the old Romanian population*, *the Romanians*, *the Wallachians*, and so on. Without getting

97 “The Romanian-Slavic symbiosis and synthesis began and consummated as a natural consequence of common interests and self-defence against the new threats that endangered their existence (the Pechenegs, the Kumans, the Hungarians).” Rusu, “Note asupra relațiilor,” 726.

98 Rusu, “Note asupra relațiilor,” 726.

99 Iambor, “Izvoarele istorice,” 11.

100 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 237.

101 The elements of Saltovo-Majack culture broke into the Carpathian area and the south of the Danube in several waves during the eighth–tenth centuries, both by the means of the Protobulgarians and the Bulgarian-Alano-Khazar tribes. Gh. Ș., I. Barnea, M. Comșa, and E. Comșa, *Dinogetia. Așezarea feudală timpurie de la Biseriçuța-Garvăn*, 1 (București, 1967): 223.

into discussions about the meanings of these terms, I will simply use the notion of *the Romanics*. From the above-said, it is obvious that the Romanic population coexisted with a number of other populations during the Middle Ages, of Slavic, Avar, and Slavic-Bulgarian origin, and that there were reciprocal influences between them. Today it is quite difficult to determine the specific characteristics of one or another ethnicity, the more so within the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic communities where, in the eighth–ninth centuries, an intense process of ethnic and cultural interference occurred.

Based on the discoveries at Bucov-Ploiești, M. Comșa tried to determine the peculiarities of the indigenous population on the Wallachian Plain in the eighth–tenth centuries, including semi-dugouts with free-standing ovens that differ from dwellings with stone ovens or ovens carved from clay, characteristic of the Slavs.¹⁰² I. Hâncu, based on discoveries in the Prut-Dniester space, offers strong support for this opinion, supplementing it with other aspects of material culture characteristic of the Romanic population, including semi-dugouts and dwellings with heating ovens in a corner, pots with a turned rim, jar handles in bands, pots with lids and pear-shaped or conical bodies, conical cups, and so on. He argues that by living together, and due to this common historical evolution, the communities of the Balkan-Danubian type created a culture with its own features, combining cultural elements previously characteristic of different ethnic backgrounds (proven by the presence of heating installations and ceramics of various types in the same settlement), which demonstrates the existence of an ethnically and culturally polymorphic society.¹⁰³

S. Dumitrașcu attributes the discoveries at Biharea dating from the seventh–ninth centuries to *the Romanian population*, using as his evidence the “lack of yellowish and gray ceramics,”¹⁰⁴ and he sees the Western Carpathians as an area devoid of the Slavic element.¹⁰⁵ From the statements made above regarding the ethnic situation in the regions between the Tisza and the Western Carpathians, we can quite clearly see some aspects of ethnic order in the eighth–ninth centuries, namely that Avar and Slavic-Avar communities, arriving from the Pannonian Plain, predominate (Map 6). From a cultural standpoint, Dan Gh. Teodor insists “in the most convincing manner” on regarding the advanced stage of the old Romanian village communities east of the Carpathians as an ethnic and cultural unity with the rest of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic territory in the eighth–ninth centuries.¹⁰⁶ Archaeological realities documented in the eastern Carpathian territories and in other regions of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic region show the continuous transformation of the economic, social, cultural, political, and ethnic order in which the inhabiting populations lived.

In terms of funerary ritual and rites, it is generally thought that the incineration graves in reused Roman brick crypts in the cemetery at Histria would have belonged to

102 Comșa, “Slavii pe teritoriul,” 75; Comșa, “Contribuții,” 93.

103 Hynku, “Balkano-dunajskaja,” 177.

104 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 192.

105 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 44–53.

106 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 24.

the Romanics, as these habits were characteristic to the Roman provinces on the Lower Danube and foreign to the Slavs.¹⁰⁷ In our opinion, however, incineration remains a feature of Slavic communities, even if they used bricks instead of stone slabs in arranging the pit; they could have easily gotten hold of ancient ruins on the ground. Inhumation graves, oriented east to west, remain characteristic to the Romanic population that began to convert to Christianity following the late ancient era, although this process was delayed by barbarian invasions in subsequent centuries. Meanwhile, anthropological analysis finds the presence of individuals of the Mediterranean type, characteristic of the local population of Southeastern Europe, among the incinerated corpses in the cemetery at Sibiu-Gușterița, Sibiu county.¹⁰⁸ This situation demonstrates once again the mixture of ethnicities within communities north of the Danube. Slavic-Romanic cohabitation was characteristic both to the regions north of the Danube and for the ones south of the river. The processes of acculturation of some ethnic groups by others are obvious and characteristic of the early Middle Ages, but the evaluation of their level in the eighth–ninth centuries remains a difficult problem to solve.

The Slavs

The Slavs would enter the Danubian regions gradually and in various ways after the sixth century. Mass Slavic settlement in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic regions occurred following the second half of the sixth century.¹⁰⁹ The Romanian archaeologist I. Nestor noted that “It is much more difficult to give an answer to the question of what populations the Slavs met in our provinces beyond the Carpathians,” managing, however, to emphasize that, among the ceramic materials discovered in various graves in the cemetery at Sărata Monteoru there are also fragments that differ from Slavic pots and can be attributed to the local population.¹¹⁰ In 1953, based on the discoveries at Sărata Monteoru, I. Nestor mentioned that “the met funeral rite—incineration graves in pits and in urns—provides a strong indication of support for the *Slavism* of the group from Monteoru.”¹¹¹

An old Russian chronicle by Nestor attests to clashes between the populations east of the Carpathians and the Slavs, with the latter being driven out of these regions. L. Niederle showed that the Slavs took with them a series of more advanced technological elements in the fields of pottery, metalworking, and house-building (the transition from dwellings to semi-dugouts), and adopted a series of agricultural tools owing to contact with the Eastern Roman world;¹¹² this is the situation that complicates the distinguishing of cultural particularities between the Romanic and Slavic population groups. The first

107 Comșa, “Slavii pe teritoriul,” 76.

108 Nicolăiescu-Ploșsor and Wolski, *Elemente de demografie*, 228.

109 Nestor, “Slavii pe teritoriul,” 49.

110 Nestor, “Slavii pe teritoriul,” 53–54.

111 I. Nestor, “Șantierul Sărata Monteoru,” *SCIV* 4 (1953): 86.

112 L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave* (Paris, 1926), 187–96, 228–30, 281; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 39.

waves of Slavs arrived in the middle and the second half of the sixth century, especially in the eastern and southeastern regions of the Carpathians. Other waves of the Slavs have been demonstrated in the seventh century, when they passed the north-western chain of the Carpathians and settled down on the Tisza Plain. After they were stopped in their advance westward, they returned to the East, as also happened later with the Hungarians, undergoing a “ricochet” from the Bohemia Mountains to the Carpathians. Leaving the Pannonian Plain, the Slavs and the Avars headed eastward across the Someş and the Mureş valleys to the Plateau of Transylvania. The Slav penetration was not completed within the sixth–seventh centuries,¹¹³ but instead, during the eighth–ninth centuries, as a result of the political situation in Central, Western, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe, new communities of Slavs crept into the Carpathian-Danubian territories either as allies of the Avars or as refugees from areas more exposed to invasions from the regions of Central and Eastern Europe. M. Comşa believes that the regions east of the Carpathians were predominantly inhabited by the Eastern Slavs and that Transylvania was inhabited by the Western Slavs, but that the Southern Slavs appeared in the ninth century together with the expansion of the Bulgarian Khanate north of the Danube.¹¹⁴

The Slavs penetrated Transylvania from the north-west, reaching the intra-Carpathian space primarily through the valleys of the Someş and the Mureş,¹¹⁵ as evidenced by the discoveries in central, north-western, and western Transylvania (Map 2). The appearance of handmade and slow wheel pottery,¹¹⁶ funerary urns of the group of the birital cemetery Mediaş, and dwellings with dug ovens made of clay blocks located outside had not been previously known in Transylvania and were not characteristic of the local population.¹¹⁷

Some of the Slavic tribes settled down on the Pannonian Plain, entering the area of influence of the Avar Kaganate and, after the sedentarization of the Avars, forming mixed communities there. Thus, in the areas between the Carpathians and the river Tisza a series of Slavic-Avar elements are attested in the seventh–eighth centuries. The defeat of the Avars by the Franks in 795/796 caused further displacement of these populations, as witnessed by the graves and the cemeteries east of the Tisza and in the intra-Carpathian space, which prove the presence of some communities with a mixed Slavic-Avar character in these regions (Map 5).¹¹⁸ Incineration cemeteries

113 M. Comşa, based on the discoveries from the east of the Carpathians and from the Lower Danube valley, considers that new waves of Slavs, the bearers of Hlincea I-Luka Rajkoveckaja culture, appeared in the eighth–ninth centuries. Comşa, “Slavii pe teritoriul R.P.R. în secolele VI–IX în lumina cercetărilor arheologice,” *SCIV* 1 (1959): 67.

114 M. Chişvasi-Comşa, “Slavii de răsărit pe teritoriul R.P.R. şi pătrunderea elementului Romanic în Moldova pe baza datelor arheologice,” *SCIV* 9 (1958): 73.

115 Rusu, “Note asupra relațiilor,” 721.

116 Stanciu, “Așezarea prefeudală.”

117 Rusu, “Note asupra relațiilor,” 721.

118 M. Comşa, “Cu privire la caracterul organizării social-economice şi politice de pe teritoriul ţării noastre în epoca migrațiilor,” *SCIV* 3 (1967): 435; Á. Cs. Sós and Á. Salamon, *Cemeteries of the Early Middle Ages (6th–9th c.) at Pókaszeptek* (Budapest, 1995), 132.

with tumulary graves at Apahida, Cluj county, Nușfalău, Sălaj county, and Someșeni, Cluj county, indicate the infiltration of groups of late Slavs in Transylvania,¹¹⁹ but the materials specific to the Avar environment itself (appliques, buckles and silver and bronze appliques, knives, circles of wooden buckles) appeared in funerary inventories along with funerary urns, offering vessels, and metal objects. These cemeteries are assigned chronologically to the late eighth century to the beginning of the ninth century and can be connected with the movement of Western Slavs to the regions east of the Tisza, on the territory of Transylvania.

Gh. B. Fëdorov and L. L. Polevoj argue that the territory of Romania was inhabited by the local romanized population and the Slavs in the eighth–ninth centuries. The settlement of the Slavs amid the romanized communities in Transylvania occurred relatively peacefully. Soviet archaeologists noted that the displacement of the Slavs from Central Europe to the Balkans occurred continuously until the eighth–ninth centuries, with a direct impact on the regions of Transylvania. They also endorsed the attribution of the group of cemeteries at Nușfalău-Someșeni to the Western Slavs.¹²⁰

The phenomenon of the migration of some groups of Western Slavs continued in the ninth century, when the Moravian prince Svjatopluk, after the death of Bishop Methodius in 885, drove his followers away and returned to the liturgy in Latin, and the bishop Wiching launched a campaign of persecution against the followers of Cyril and Methodius as well as Christian Orthodox communities in the 960s, which caused their displacement to other areas, including to Transylvania. The inventory of graves in the cemetery at Ciombrud-*Podireu*,¹²¹ Alba county, and *Orăștie-Dealul Pemilor, Punct X8*, Hunedoara county, find analogies in funerary discoveries in regions that were part of Great Moravia.¹²² During the ninth century, another group of Slavs arrived in Transylvania from different directions and regions and having other ethnic elements in their composition. Funerary discoveries, assigned to the group *Blandiana A*, indicate Bulgarian domination over some areas of Transylvania and the emergence of multiethnic communities in these regions (Romanic-Slavic-Bulgarian) south of the river. A similar situation can be observed in the Banat.

Thus, during the eighth–ninth centuries, Transylvania found itself in the path of migratory populations, in all likelihood, because of its rich natural resources of these regions, and the Slavic populations were no exception to these processes of social, economic, and political ordering.

Population movements in the second half of the first millennium in the regions between the Carpathians and the Dniester river can also be observed by means of archaeology,

119 D. Băcuc, Crișan, “Contributions Regarding the North-West Part of Romania in the 7th–11th Centuries. Considerations Based on the Archaeological Researches Made in Silvania Depression,” in *Fontes Historiae. Studia in honorem Demetrii Protase*, ed. C. Gaiu and C. Găzdac (Bistrița-Cluj-Napoca, 2006), 832.

120 Fëdorov and Polevoj, *Arheologija Rumynii*, 304–5.

121 Rusu, “Note asupra relațiilor,” 724.

122 Chorvátová, “K relativnej chronológii.”

particularly funerary discoveries. Thus, in the area of the Middle Dniester and in the northern Bukovina we can observe the emergence of incineration cemeteries, which find analogies in discoveries in the middle and southern basin of the southern Bug.¹²³ Not only did the incineration graves at Chișcani, Brăila county, and Tichilești, Brăila county belong to Slavic communities, but the singular graves at Galați-Valea lui Tuluc, Galați county, Halta Dodești-CFR Dodești, Vaslui county, and Vinețești-Cordeni-Popești, Vaslui county, close to the south-Danubian environmental area, did as well (Maps 1, 4, 5).

A comparison of the cemeteries at Alcedar with other funerary discoveries in the Prut-Dniester space, such as those at Brănești, Calfa, Lucașeuca, Hansca, and elsewhere, shows us that, in terms of chronology, they are synchronous, but based on the differences in rites and rituals we may state that they belonged to different ethnic and cultural communities.¹²⁴ The cemetery at Alcedar, Rezina rayon, in the Răut depression, was formed as a result of the movement of a new wave of Eastern Slavs in the second half of the ninth century, whose presence is reflected in the eponymous sites of the *Alcedar-Echimăuți* culture.¹²⁵

The highest density of housing is found on the territory of the northern Bukovina when compared with other regions north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–tenth centuries (Map 2). Some settlements in the northern Bukovina are attributed to the white Croats (due to settlements, fortresses, and incineration cemeteries).¹²⁶ In the tenth century, old Russian chronicles mention Croatian tribes on the eastern slopes of the Carpathians, who participated, along with other Slavic populations, in Knyaz Oleg's expedition against Constantinople in 907.¹²⁷ Around the middle of the tenth century, Croats ceased to be mentioned among the participants of attacks against the Russian Empire (941, 944), which would have meant that they left the sphere of Russian domination. Only in 992 did Vladimir organize a military campaign against them to restore a Russian sphere of influence and to convert them to Christianity. In all likelihood, it was then that some territories in the Bukovina were included in the composition of the Kievan principality, which, after its dismemberment at the beginning of the twelfth century, passed into the political sphere of the Halician principality.¹²⁸ Thus the funerary discoveries at Černovka and Gorišnie Širovcy, Chernivtsi region, in the north of the Bukovina, are similar to the ones in the *Nușfalău-Someșeni* group in Transylvania and, in all likelihood, these communities came from the western Slavic world, while the cemetery stemming

123 V. V. Sedov, *Vostočnye slavjane VI–XIII vv.* (Moskva, 1982).

124 Rabinovič, "O kul'turnom," 124–25.

125 Hîncu, "Cu privire la cultura"; Hîncu, "Triburile tivertilor"; Hîncu, "Semnificația etnoculturală"; Hîncu, "Semnificația culturală și istorică a obiceiurilor de înmormântare folosite în Evul Mediu timpuriu de către locuitorii din Moldova," *RIM* (2000); Postică, *Civilizația medievală timpurie*, 63–64.

126 Timoščuk, *Slovjani Pivničnoj*; Sedov, *Vostočnye slavjane*; Mihajlina and Timoščuk, "Slavjanskije pamjatniki," 205–19.

127 "Povest' Vremennyh Let," in *Povesti Drevnej Rusi XI–XII veka*, ed. O. V. Tvorogov (Leningrad, 1983), 35; II, 21.

128 V. Spinei, "Bucovina în mileniul întunecat," in *Spațiul Nord-Est Carpatic în mileniul întunecat*, ed. Spinei (Iași, 1997), 148–50; Olteanu et al., "Modul de viață a comunităților umane," 85n58.

from the ninth–tenth centuries at Revno could have belonged to a community of Slavs that came here from Eastern Europe.¹²⁹

On the territory of the northern Bukovina, apart from settlements, fortresses, and cemeteries, a number of buildings with a religious character—sanctuaries, sacred complexes, and even fortress-sanctuaries—have been discovered, such as those at Revno,¹³⁰ Ržavinci II-*Hrinova*,¹³¹ and Gorbova I-*Cetate*,¹³² also characteristic of the eastern Slavic cultural environment (Maps 3, 4a).¹³³

In the regions between the Southern Carpathians and the Danube, incineration graves following Slavic traditions are concentrated in two areas close to the river. The first lies west of Oltenia (Ostrovu Mare, Balta Verde) and the other one is in Eastern Wallachia (Hagiștei), the region near the group of incineration cemeteries in southwestern Moldova (Galati and Șendreni, Galati county; Chișcani and Tichilești, Braila county). This category includes incineration graves in Bistreț-Danila, Dolj county, and Dorobanțu, Calarasi county.

The presence of biritual cemeteries in the eighth–ninth centuries has aroused a heated discussion in the specialized literature regarding their ethnic attribution. Most cemeteries are located along the Danube (at Obârșia Nine, Olt county, Păuleasca, Teleorman county, Izvoru, Giurgiu county, or Sultana, Calarasi county). As judged by their ritual peculiarities, their cultural composition differed from that of the biritual cemeteries of the *Mediaș* group. At the same time, the anthropological data demonstrate the multiethnic character of those communities, where the existence of Mediterranean elements, Mediterranean elements with Pontic nuances, and Protoeuropoid and Alpinoid elements have all been demonstrated.¹³⁴

Based on archaeological data available today, we can ascertain the presence of some Slavic communities on the territories north of the Lower Danube, distinguished from one another and from the other populations in the region through their specific features, especially through the funerary rites and rituals, even if some Romanian archaeologists affirm that, in the eighth–ninth centuries, Slavic elements were no longer differentiable.¹³⁵

The Avars

The emergence and evolution of the Avar Kaganate over the sixth–ninth centuries is considered one of the most interesting and attractive cultural and historical

129 Mihajlina, *Naselennja verhn'ogo Poprutnja*, 70–72.

130 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 65–72, 162–63; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja*, 173.

131 Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 164; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja*, 156, fig. 21.

132 Timoščuk, *Pivnična Bukovina*, 152, 153; Timoščuk, *Slov'jani Pivničnoj*, 89–90, 149; Timoščuk, *Vostočnoslavjanskaja*, 166, fig. 54/B.

133 Rusanova and Timoščuk, *Jazyčeskie*.

134 Botezatu and Cantemir, “Studiul antropologic,” 6–7.

135 I. Mitrea, “Autohtoni și slavi în secolele VI–VII în așezarea de la Davideni,” *Carpica* 26 (1997): 189.

phenomena in the Carpathian Basin. The history of this political power is fairly well reflected in written sources, with the exception of its end (the eighth–ninth centuries). This situation is partially compensated for by archaeological sources, especially from cemeteries. So far, over 50,000 graves and 60,000 objects of funerary inventory that belonged to the Avars have been found.¹³⁶ The number of settlements researched that belonged to the Avars, however, is very modest at present. The seventh–ninth-century site at Eperjes-*Csikós tábla*, Csongrád county, Hungary, is the only late Avar settlement on which research has been published.¹³⁷

The Avars were a nomad population of shepherds who, coming from the East, moved around the Carpathians to the north and settled down on the Pannonian Plain, and then along the Tisza, extending their domination over some intra-Carpathian regions, particularly those with salt deposits.¹³⁸ The centre of Avar power was, in all likelihood, the regions between the Danube and the Tisza, and in some areas east of the Tisza.¹³⁹ In the intra-Carpathian space and the regions between the Tisza and the Carpathians a series of archaeological remains attributable to the Avars have been discovered. Inhumation graves at Adoni, Aiud, Bratei, Câmpia Turzii, Cheșereu, Cicău-*Săliște*, Gâmbaș, Ghenci, Heria, Lopadnea, Noșlac-*Livada*, Sânandrei,¹⁴⁰ Stremț, Teiuș, Valea lui Michael, and elsewhere¹⁴¹ demonstrate the presence of Avars in the intra-Carpathian regions and their interest in the salt trade with areas of Transylvania (Ocnișoara, Ocna Mureșului, Ocna Dejului, Sic, and Turda).¹⁴² Slavic cemeteries are concentrated near the salt deposits at Ocna Sibiu, Sic, Ocna Dej, and Ocnița, which proves not only the presence of this population in the areas with salt deposits, but also, in all probability, the existence of its alliance with the Avars.¹⁴³ The most numerous Avar remains from the space included in this study are concentrated in the plains regions between the Tisza and the Carpathians. Avar discoveries in the Banat, in all probability, belonged to the late Avars who arrived from Pannonia after their defeat at the end of the eighth century.¹⁴⁴ Thus, the discovery of a number of settlements and cemeteries in these areas proves an intensive habitation in these regions in the eighth–ninth centuries (Maps 4, 5).

Avar discoveries of a funerary character are distinguished by the specific funeral rites and rituals of this population. Avar discoveries from the regions east of the Tisza

136 Daim, "Istoriija i arhaeologija avar," 273, 287. Definirea mormântului și necropolei avare Avar and "Avar cemetery."

137 Bálint, *Die spätavarenzeitliche*.

138 Horedt, *Contribuții*, 61.

139 Daim, "Istoriija i arhaeologija avar," 296.

140 Bejan, *Banatul*, 98; Muntean, and Muntean, "Studiu antropologic," 272.

141 Stanciu, "Așezarea prefeudală," 314; Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 66.

142 Rusu et al., "Situația etno-demografică," 39.

143 In Bratei, for instance, an Avar grave was discovered in close proximity to a Slavic incineration cemetery. Rusu, "Note asupra relațiilor," 720.

144 Bejan, *Banatul*, 100.

are perfect analogies to and fit perfectly with the rest of the Avar discoveries west of the Tisza,¹⁴⁵ which would mean that the river Tisza was not a natural boundary in the seventh–ninth centuries and that the regions east of the river also made up the Avar Kaganate. However, the Avar discoveries in Romania have been, as noted by Stanciu, insufficiently investigated.¹⁴⁶

Avar culture was formed through the symbiosis of several Asian, European, and Byzantine elements. The Avars took a number of elements from Byzantine culture, with which they had been in contact since the early Avar period.¹⁴⁷ In actual fact, throughout the existence of their political power in the regions north of the Danube, they were dealing with animal husbandry (mainly horses) and hunting, while the importance of crops in their society still remains unknown.¹⁴⁸

As in the previous periods, late Avar ceramics exhibit several regional variants.¹⁴⁹ This stage is characterized by an increasing number of vessels made on a potter's wheel, decorated with wavy lines, with traces of the potter's wheel and the potter's signs on the bottoms of the vessels. Yellow ceramics (*gelbe Keramik*) along with vessels with tubular handles and pear-shaped and gourd-shaped vessels with two handles are characteristic to the Avars. The resemblance of the vessels from various graves in large cemeteries presupposes the existence of specialized potters in those settlements, who produced a large amount of pottery.¹⁵⁰

The Avar Kaganate had a multiethnic structure, as evidenced by Slavic-Avar coexistence in Pannonia and in the regions situated between the Tisza and the Carpathians, as well as the displacement of other ethnic elements by the Avars from the regions south of the Danube as a result of their military campaigns.

By the end of the eighth century, Avar power had suddenly collapsed under pressure from the Slavs and the Franks. The eighth century to the beginning of the ninth century constitute the late Avar epoch (700/720–792/800/828/831), defined archaeologically by the appearance of cast bronze pieces ornamented with griffins and tendrils.¹⁵¹

145 Kurt Horedt, "Das Awarenproblem in Rumänien," *Študijné Zvesti AÚSAV* 16 (1968): 104–5; Éva Garam, "Die Awaren (Awaren in Siebenbürgen)," in *Siebenbürgen zur Zeit der Römer und der Völkerwanderung*, ed. W. Schuler (Köln-Weimar-Wien, 1994), 178–79; J. Szentpéteri, "O pozdneavarskih i rannebolgarskih svjazjah," in *Die Protobulgaren in Ost- und Zentraleuropa VI–X. Jh. II. Internationalalkonferenz, Sumen, 1986* (Sofia, 1989), 117–28; Szentpéteri, "Archäologische Studien zur Schicht der Waffenträger des Awarentums im Karpatenbecken I. Die waffenkundliche Hinterlassenschaft des awarischen Reiches," *AAH* 45 (1993): 165–246; Szentpéteri, "Archäologische Studien zur Schicht der Waffenträger des Awarentums im Karpatenbecken II. Die gesellschaftliche Schichtung des awarenzeitlichen Heeres," *AAH* 46 (1994): 231–306.

146 Ioan Stanciu, "Teritoriul nord-vestic al României și Khaganatul Avar," *AMP* 23 (2000): 403.

147 Daim, "Istorija i arhaeologija avar," 289.

148 Daim, "Istorija i arhaeologija avar," 316, 318.

149 Vida, *Chronologie*; Vida, "Zu einigen"; Vida, *Die Awarenzeitliche*.

150 Daim, "Istorija i arhaeologija avar," 315.

151 Horedt, *Contribuții*, 65.

Casting techniques were well known even in the middle Avar period, but casting was mainly used for making buckles, whereas during that period most pieces were made by stamping. Technological innovation in casting metal objects marks the transition to a new stage of the history of the Avars.¹⁵² Appliques, ornamented with griffins, and the belt ends marked with representations of the tree of life and other ornaments, made via casting, are characteristic of the late Avar period.¹⁵³ As I. Stanciu shows, late Avar discoveries in Romania are well represented by belt accessories, decorated with griffins and battle scenes between animals (Căuaș, Cicârlău, Dindești, Zalău), characteristic of the eighth century.¹⁵⁴ In the last phase of the late Avar period, griffins were replaced by wild boars.¹⁵⁵ The style of Avar art was a combination of Asian and Byzantine elements. The Avars took from the Byzantine culture only what they liked and what could be associated with the Avar lifestyle. Avar belt pieces suggest that they had a direct link with the social position of the individual who wore them.¹⁵⁶

The wars between the Franks and the Avars at the end of the eighth century constituted a new stage of cultural transformation in the areas previously controlled by the Avars, which lasted through the ninth century until the arrival of the Hungarians, who caused further changes in the cultural, ethnic, and religious order in the regions north of the Danube.¹⁵⁷ There have been various opinions in the historiography regarding the fate of the Avar population after the failure of the Avar Kaganate in wars against Charels the Great and Krum. B. M. Szőke considers unfounded the idea of a massacre of the Avar population.¹⁵⁸ Some settlements abandoned by the Avars in the second half of the seventh century were repopulated, starting in the eighth century, and existed until the ninth century, which may have been due to either another wave of Avar migration from Eastern Europe or the displacement of some Avar communities from the western regions of the Avar Kaganate as a result of their confrontation with the Franks. The elements of late Avar culture can be observed in a number of settlements and cemeteries on the Pannonian Plain during the ninth century, and some elements of Avar art we find later as elements of Hungarian art.¹⁵⁹ In the eighth century, Christianity did not influence Avar communities, because in that period Charels the Great actively fought against the Germanic pagans. After the decay of the Avars' political supremacy, their religious traditions were not so powerful and Avar rulers, having taken into account the new political situation, quickly came down on Charels' side and converted to Christianity.

152 Daim, "Istoriija i arhaeologija avar," 309.

153 Daim, "Istoriija i arhaeologija avar," 309.

154 Stanciu, "Teritoriul nord-vestic," 422.

155 Daim, "Istoriija i arhaeologija avar," 312.

156 Țiplic, *Contribuții*, 65.

157 Daim, "Istoriija i arhaeologija avar," 317.

158 B. M. Szőke, "The Question of Continuity in the Carpathian Basin of the 9th Century A. D.," *Antaeus* 19–20 (1990–1991): 148.

159 Szőke, "The Question," 154.

In the western regions, the Avars were assimilated by the local population,¹⁶⁰ and in the eastern ones by the Slavic population.¹⁶¹

In 796, Tudun, “the dux of Pannonia,”¹⁶² obeyed Charels and converted to Christianity. If before 796 Tudun was mainly a representative of the aristocracy that controlled the western regions of Pannonia, between 796 and 805 he became the ruler of the Avar state, taking the name Theodor.¹⁶³ After the defeat of the Avars in 803, Theodor addressed Charels the Great in his residence in Aachen in 805, offering him the lands between Sabaria and Karnut, because, due to the invasion of the Slavs, he was not able to rule over his previous territories any longer. Charels gave them this right, but the Avar leader died soon and was thus no longer able to enjoy his usufruct. In the same year, the Avar Kagan came to Charels again with a request to restore his previous power. The new Kagan was christened in the river Fişa and received the name Abraham.¹⁶⁴ These events clearly show not only the movement of population from the territory of the former Avar Kaganate, but also the political struggle between the Avar and Slavic local leaders.

The Avars’ defeat favoured the increasing military power of the Bulgarian Khanate and its takeover of territories north of the Lower Danube, in particular those regions with salt deposits, which is evidenced by the mention of the salt trade in Moravia.

The Bulgarians

A new wave of Turanian tribes affected some regions north of the Lower Danube by the end of the seventh century. After the death of Kubrat, some tribes of Kutrigurirs, combined with Onogurs under the leadership of Asparuh, the fifth son of Kubrat, crossed over the rivers Dnieper and Dniester and temporarily settled to the north of the Danube, in the region called *Onglos*,¹⁶⁵ where they moved quickly south of the Danube without leaving obvious imprints in these areas. The localization of *Onglos* caused an active controversy in the historiography of the twentieth century.¹⁶⁶ This issue has been referred to in some of our previous publications,¹⁶⁷ and we will therefore not reiterate this discussion.

160 Daim, “Istorija i arhaeologija avar,” 321.

161 T. Năger, *România și sașii până la 1848 (relații economice, sociale și politice)* (Sibiu, 1997), 21.

162 In the eighth century, the Avars also used the term “jupan,” that is met at the Turkic and the Slavic peoples. It is proved by the inscriptions of the vessel no. 21 of the treasure from Sănnicolaul Mare: “BOYHLA ZOAPAN” and “BOYTAOYLZOAPAN.” Rusu, “Tezaurul de la Sănnicolau Mare,” 63, fig. 1.

163 Daim, “Istorija i arhaeologija avar,” 280.

164 Daim, “Istorija i arhaeologija avar,” 282.

165 *FHDR* 2 (357–358).

166 A. D. Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană, Dacia anteromană, Dacia Romană și năvălirile barbare 513 înainte de Hr.–1290*, 1, 4th ed. (București, 1985), 269; Diaconu, “Le problème,” 325–34; Diaconu, “Unde trebuie,” 359–61; Božilov, “K”m istoričeskata,” 27–36; Madgearu, “Recent discussions,” 343–44; Teodor, “Din nou despre.”

167 S. Musteață, “Autohtonii și alogeni în spațiul pruto-nistean în secolele VIII–IX,” *CLIO* (1998): 19–32; Musteață, *Populația spațiului*, 111–18.

Since the moment of the foundation of the Bulgarian Khanate in 681 and, in actual fact, throughout the eighth century, the Bulgarians were involved in battles with the Byzantine Empire over control of the Balkan regions. Only in the ninth century did the Bulgarians orient the Khanate's expansionist policy towards the Western Balkans and the north of the Danube. Thus, in the context of the expansion of Bulgarian political and military power in the ninth century (the period Krum-Simion), part of the regions north of the Lower Danube came into their sphere of influence.¹⁶⁸ The tendency to extend Bulgarian power north of the Danube is spoken of by a number of written sources, epigraphic and archaeological testimonies, and other sources.

The Bulgarian expansion north of the river is confirmed by two funerary inscriptions. The first inscription, in Greek and written on a stone column, spoke about a campaign undertaken north of the Danube by the Bulgarians, who went through the south of Moldova and came up to the Dnieper, where Kopan Okorses was killed. The source does not mention against whom the Bulgarian expedition was organized, but, considering the political situation of the times, they could have been the nations of the Khazar Kaganate, or possibly the Hungarians.¹⁶⁹ The second inscription describes another Bulgarian military expedition, this time in the Tisza river region, where the Tarkan Onegavon(ais) was killed.¹⁷⁰ This fact can be attributed to the fights between the Bulgarians and the Slav principalities on the Pannonian Plain following the liquidation of Avar domination. Thus, the second inscription might have referred to the Bulgarian expansion in the Sirmium region and in the Banat, over which the Bulgarians established control during the ninth century.

In 813, the Bulgarians besieged Adrianople, and managed to conquer it with great effort. Aiming to strengthen their position in the north of the Danube, the Bulgarian tsar commanded the displacement of a population of 10,000/12,000 inhabitants of this region into "Bulgaria across the river Istros." The resettlement of the inhabitants of Adrianople by the Bulgarians took place, in all probability, in the areas of their strategic interest, because the number of people was reduced there and the Bulgarians had an interest in strengthening their rule north of the river. The forced colonization of conquered populations was a widely used practice in antiquity and the early Middle Ages by the Romans and later the Byzantines as well as the invading barbarian peoples. As is mentioned in written Byzantine sources, in the context of conflicts between Byzantium and barbarian populations, the taking of prisoners and their transfer to the north or the south of the Danube, the exchange of populations, and the ransom of prisoners give some clues regarding the permanent changes of the ethnic mosaic in the Danubian regions in the second half of the first millennium. The exact place to which the Greeks from Adrianople were sent has not been revealed by our sources, with some specialists

168 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 231, 234.

169 Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen*, VI. Grabinschriften, no. 58, 281–85, pl. 114–115 (after Zlatarski, this source may be dating from the years 818 and 820 or 823).

170 Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen*, VI. Grabinschriften, no. 59, 285–87, pl. 116.

placing it in either Bugeac¹⁷¹ or on the Romanian Plain.¹⁷² I do not exclude the possibility of a connection between this event and the spontaneous appearance of a large number of settlements in the Danubian lakes area¹⁷³ and in the eastern regions of the Wallachia Plain (Maps 1, 2), which is a natural thing in the political context of the ninth century, the more so since the range of iron-object treasures north of the Lower Danube coincides with the region known as *Bulgaria across the Danube*.¹⁷⁴ Two Byzantine coins from emperor Theophilos' time (829–842) have been found in the north-east of Wallachia and in the south of Bessarabia, which could be linked to the emergence of the Byzantine fleet in 837 to help the inhabitants of Adrianople repatriate (Maps 1, 2).

In all likelihood, *Bulgaria across the Danube* had a local ruler who enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy from the Bulgarian Khanate and whose residence might have been the fortress of Slon, Prahova county, the architectural features of which, particularly in the second phase, are obviously of the south-Danubian tradition.¹⁷⁵

At the end of the ninth century, in the context of the German-Moravian conflict, the German King Arnulf of Carinthia appealed to the Bulgarians for help. In 892, Arnulf surreptitiously sent a message to Bulgaria to ask Vladimir not to sell salt to the Moravian King Sviatopluk.¹⁷⁶ Thus, the news of 892 of a *salt embargo* against Moravia confirmed that the Bulgarians controlled salt extraction in Transylvania and the “salt road” of the Mureș and the Tisza.¹⁷⁷

The domination of Bulgarian rulers north of the Danube is also mentioned by the notary Anonymus. Thus, speaking of the territory between the Danube and the Tisza, the Hungarian chronicler recalls Kean, *magnus dux Bulgariae auus Salani ducis*, as ruling over the area where the Slavs and the Bulgarians lived—*habitare Sclauos et Bulgaros*¹⁷⁸—and also mentioned Thurocz.¹⁷⁹ After a few pages, the chronicler repeats the information about the great Kean, the ancestor of the Duke Salanus, who had left Bulgaria and who had occupied this country with the help of the Greeks (*magnus Keanus preauus ducis Salanj dux de Bulgaria egressus, auxilio et consilio imperatoris Graecorum preoccupauerat*

171 A. Decei, “România din veacul al XI-lea pînă în al XIII-lea în lumina izvoarelor armenesti,” in *Relații româno-orientale* (București, 1978), 49–50; Gh. I. Brătianu, “*Bulgaria de dincolo de Dunăre*” in *izvoarele bizantine*,” in *Omagiu lui Ioan Lupaș la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani august 1940* (București, 1943), 130; Mircea Dogaru, “Izvoare narative și documentare despre impactul românilor cu maghiarii (c. 890–896),” in *Armata și societate în spațiul românesc, Epoca veche și mileniul migrațiilor, Studii de Istorie Militară I* (București, 1994), 175.

172 P. Diaconu, “Istoria Dobrogei în unele lucrări străine recente (I),” *RI* 29 (1976): 936.

173 Postică et al., “Așezarea din secolele IX–XI,” 288.

174 Curta, “Blacksmiths, Warriors,” 250.

175 Rusu, “Note asupra relațiilor,” 723; O. Damian, “Considérations sur la citadelle en brique de Slon-Prahova,” *SAA* 9 (2003): 483–96.

176 *Annales Fuldenses*.

177 Horedt, *Siebenbürgen*, 102; Madgearu, *România în opera*, 276.

178 *Gesta Hungarorum*, 11. De ciuitatibus Lodomer et Galicia.

179 Xenopol, *Istoria românilor*, 275.

terram illam / The great Keanus, the grand-grandfather of the duke Salan from Bulgaria, had seized that land with the help and advice of the Greek emperors).¹⁸⁰ That would mean that “the great duke of Bulgaria” had established his dominance in the regions of the Tisza valley, not without the support or the consent of the Byzantines.¹⁸¹ In the context of a description of the regions of the Pannonian Plain, the anonymous author of the Hungarian chronicle mentions: *Quem terram habitarent sclauij, Bulgari jet Blachij, ac pastores Romanorum* (Which land was populated by Slavs, Bulgarians and Vlachs, as shepherds of the Romans).¹⁸² As regards the ethnic composition of the area, Anonymus returns to it in the passages on the armies of the local leaders Gelu,¹⁸³ Glad,¹⁸⁴ and Menumorut; in the case of the latter showing even his ethnic origin as *proprios bulgarice corde*.¹⁸⁵ The Hungarian chronicler also mentions that the Bulgarians transferred the Slavic population out of the Bulgarian country together with their establishment of control over these regions, *ipsi sclauj de terra Bulgariae conductu fuerunt* (Those Slavs were exhorter from the land of Bulgaria).¹⁸⁶

Thus we note that the expansion of the Bulgarian Khanate north of the Danube was achieved not only by the establishment of a formal political dominion, but also through the transfer of populations, as witnessed by the presence of the Balkan-Danubian culture on both sides of the Danube. Thus, Slavic-Bulgarian and Romanian communities passed into the regions north of the river during the ninth–tenth centuries, effectively contributing to population growth and the development of the aforementioned culture.¹⁸⁷

A. D. Xenopol,¹⁸⁸ referring to the reports by the Geographer Ravenna and by the Bavar Geographer, believed that the Bulgarians at the time of Krum, after the destruction of the Avar Kaganate, extended their dominions north of the Danube. The quoted author observed that, in the ninth century, the Bulgarians shared a border with the Franks and the Moravians, locating that boundary north of the Danube (in Pannonia and in northern Transylvania), because neither the Carolingian Franks nor the Moravians managed to rule over the regions

180 *Gesta Hungarorum*, 12. Quomodo Pannonim intrauerunt.

181 I.-A. Pop, *Românii și maghiarii în secolele IX–XIV. Geneza statului medieval în Transilvania* (Cluj-Napoca, 1996), 90–91.

182 *Gesta Hungarorum*, 9. De pace inter ducem et Ruthenos.

183 *Quia essent Blasii et Sclauj, quia alia arma non haberent, nisi arcum et sagittas ... quita a Cumani set Picenatis multas iniurias peterentur* (Because these were Vlachs and Slavs, who did not have any weaponry, only possessing bows and arrows ... and therefore received much damage from Cumans and Pecenegs), Anonimus, 25.

184 *cum magno exercitu et peditum adiutorio Cumanorum et Bulgarorum atque Blachorum* (With a great army and the assistance of Cuman, Bulgarian and Valach soldiers), Anonimus, XLIV.

185 *Gesta Hungarorum*, 96–97.

186 *Gesta Hungarorum*, 12. Quomodo Pannoniam intrauerunt.

187 M. Comșa states that: “The Southern Slavs are those who had mostly influenced us in terms of language, customs, social and cultural life.” Comșa, “Slavii pe teritoriul,” 75.

188 A. D. Xenopol identifies Onglos with the southern regions of Bessarabia. Xenopol, *Istoria românilor*, 269.

of the Lower Danube.¹⁸⁹ During the ninth century, there were a number of contacts between the Bulgarians and the Frankish kings, both to adjust the borders and to strengthen good neighbourly relations. In 824, the Bulgarian Khan, Mortagon (Omurtag), sent an embassy to King Louis the Good in order to discuss the issue of borders between the two powers. In 832, another Bulgarian mission with gifts for King Louis, who was in Hamburg, was mentioned. In 867, Louis, after the collapse of Charlemagne's empire, decided, after taking counsel with his nobles and prelates, to initiate the preaching of Christianity in Bulgaria. In 892, the King of Germany, Arnulf of Carinthia, renewed his friendship with the Bulgarians against the Moravian duke Zwentbald (Sviatopluk).¹⁹⁰

In connection with the Bulgarian presence north of the Danube, other archaeological discoveries, characteristic of the Bulgarian cultural environment, were referred to. These include oval pit-constructions or dwellings of the hut type discovered in the Prut-Dniester space (Hansca, Bogatoe, and so on) that have analogues in the dwellings found in settlements from other regions of Eastern Europe and from south of the Danube¹⁹¹ and which mostly relate directly to the area of Bulgarian habitation and displacement during the eighth–eleventh centuries,¹⁹² although some archaeologists believe that they certainly did not belong to the Bulgarian culture.¹⁹³

M. Comşa argued that, during the time of Krum and Omurtag, the Bulgarians extended their dominion over the territories north of the Lower Danube, as evidenced by the discoveries at Sebes, and Blandiana, the hoard at Sânnicolaul Mare, and the discoveries at Celei, and Bucov, along with the presence of ceramics of *Saltovo* type and other factors.¹⁹⁴ This Romanian researcher believes that we cannot refer to a homogeneous population in terms of ethnicity within the Bulgarian Khanate, with the Bulgarians instead constituting a dominant class and the majority of the population being made up of Slavs and Romans.¹⁹⁵ The cohabitation of these ethnic groups with different cultural origins led to the formation of a common cultural background, something characteristic to the Balkan-Danubian regions in the eighth–eleventh centuries.

K. Horedt placed the discoveries of the ninth–tenth centuries, attributed to the *Blandiana* group, in the framework of Bulgarian domination.¹⁹⁶ The discoveries from the *Blandiana* group consisted of yellowish or reddish amphorae with polished surfaces, clay

189 Xenopol, *Istoria românilor*, 271–73.

190 Xenopol, *Istoria românilor*, 274.

191 Văžarova, *Srednevekovnoto selišče*, 26.

192 Pletneva, *Na slavjano-hazarskom*, 37–38, fig. 15; Flerov, *Rannesrednevekovye*.

193 I. Gh. Hîncu, "Relațiile proto-bulgarilor cu locuitorii spațiului pruto-nistrean în evul mediu timpuriu," in *Materialele Conferinței științifice internaționale: Relațiile moldo-bulgare în epoca medie și modernă* (Chișinău, 21–23 octombrie, 1996), 2; I. G. Hynku, "Nekotorye bolgarskie čerty v material'noj kul'ture naselenija rannego srednekov'ja Moldavii," *EB* 4 (1975): 96.

194 Comşa, "Slavii," 73; Chișvasi-Comşa, "Cîteva date," 73–74.

195 Comşa, "Slavii," 74; Chișvasi-Comşa, "Cîteva date."

196 Horedt, *Siebenbürgen*, 72–78, 100–1.

flat bowls with polished surface, bowls with pronounced and rounded lips, funnel-shaped bowls, bowls with handles, and so on, obviously from the south-Danubian tradition.¹⁹⁷ At the same time, the presence of biritual graves in the cemeteries of the *Blandiana* group proves the coexistence of ethnic and religious elements, differentiating them from the communities north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–eleventh centuries.

The problem of the relationship between various cemeteries north of the Lower Danube with south-Danubian religious traditions remains a topic of discussion for archaeologists. The attempts to prove that cemeteries on both sides of the Lower Danube would have belonged to Slavic-Bulgarian communities¹⁹⁸ have been criticized in the Romanian historiography,¹⁹⁹ as we have already mentioned in the section on the peculiarities of biritual cemeteries currently known north of the river. Therefore we will continue with just a few examples.

I. Hîncu, based on funerary investigations in an early medieval cemetery at Hansca-*Limbari-Căprăria*, distinguished sixty Christian and fifteen pagan graves out of the seventy-five uncovered graves, noting that the pagan graves constitute a separate group within the graveyard and belonged to the Turanian Protobulgarians.²⁰⁰ This group of graves is concentrated in the north-western area of the cemetery, and the dead were buried in a crouched position in round pits with differing orientations. At the same time, both in the cemetery at Hansca and the ones at Sultana-*Mostiște*, Călărași county, Platonești, Ialomița county, and Sânanđrei, Timiș county, symbolic burials were uncovered—cenotaphs—which have analogies in the areas of the Saltovo-Majack culture.

The data, reported through written, epigraphic, and archaeological sources, lead us to note the presence of some cultural and ethnic elements of Bulgarian origin together with Avar, Slavic, and Romanic elements in the geographical area north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–ninth centuries.

At the close of this section of the book, based on the peculiarities of material and spiritual culture, we can conclude that the population north of the Lower Danube represented a conglomerate of cultural groups, made up of many Romanic, Slavic, Avar, and Bulgarian ethnicities in the eighth–ninth centuries.²⁰¹ A final settlement of the issues related to the ethnic and cultural attribution of archaeological discoveries north of the Lower Danube remains to be concluded, even as the archaeologist from Cluj, Stanciu, argues: “it is unlikely that in the near future we will obtain trustworthy criteria in ethnic definitions of Transylvanian settlements of the eighth–ninth centuries by means of archaeology.”²⁰²

197 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 234.

198 Fiedler, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern*.

199 P. Diaconu, “Problemele necropolelor de la Dunărea de Jos din sec. VI–IX în viziunea lui Uwe Fiedler,” in *Recenzii și discuții arheologice* 1 (Călărași, 1994), 121–35.

200 I. Hîncu, “Pătrunderea și înrădăcinarea creștinismului în spațiul pruto-nistean,” *Tyragetia* 11 (2002): 80; Hîncu, “Cronica unui sat vechi românesc din codrii Lăpușnei în lumina cercetărilor arheologice,” in *Romanitate și românitare la Nord de Balcani, Materialele Simpozionului Internațional din 7–8 aprilie 2000*, ed. A. Zanoci and S. Matveev (Chișinău, 2000), 52.

201 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 48.

202 Stanciu, “Așezarea prefeudală,” 315.

The ethnic paradigm of early medieval archaeology was dominant in the historiography of the second half of the twentieth century. In the context of addressing the issues related to the ethnogenesis of various nations, the problems of continuity, the unity of local communities, or of the differences between indigenous and migratory peoples, have also been raised. Passing over the political aspect of the problem, the general public expect the archaeologists to answer these questions directly—who lived on these lands in one or another epoch, what language did they speak, what religious beliefs did they have, and so on?

In the context of cultural interference in the regions of Eastern, Southeastern, and Central Europe during the eighth–eleventh centuries, a gradual standardization of the material and spiritual culture was produced, which complicates attempts to distinguish the peculiarities that are specific to one or another population that lived in or crossed the territories north of the Lower Danube. Therefore, the ethnic delimitation of archaeological remains from the researched settlements has been difficult to resolve to date.

Social and Political-Military Organization

The social organization of human communities north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries still remains poorly understood.²⁰³ The explanation for this is connected to the low number and modest content of written sources that do not allow us to do an analysis of the social structures north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries on the basis of narrative sources. The accentuation of social gaps within local communities may be reconstructed based on archaeological data and comparative analyses involving neighbouring societies. The regional typology and grouping of settlements and cemeteries, their internal structure, the typology of civil and funerary constructions, and the diversity and level of development of economic occupations in accordance with the community needs are just some of the elements that can help us to study the social and structural disparities of a society.

203 The attempts of Romanian historiography to elucidate this matter remain too general. H. H. Stahl, *Contribuții la studiul satelor devălmașe românești*, 1 (București, 1958); Stahl, *Contribuții la studiul satelor devălmașe românești*, 2 (București, 1959); Comșa, “Cu privire”; M. Comșa, “Unele considerații privind organizarea socială în regiunile din nord-vestul României în secolele IV–IX,” *Crisia* 4 (1974): 65–72; Comșa, “Socio-economic Organization of the Daco-Romanic and Slav Populations on the Lower Danube during the 6th–8th Centuries,” in *Relations between the Autochthonous Population and the Migratory Populations on the Territory of Romania* (București, 1975), 171–200; Comșa, “Contribuții arheologice privind existența unor cnezate și stabilirea unui drum comercial între Carpați și Dunăre în sec. IX–X,” *MN* 6 (1982): 143–47; Comșa, “Structuri socio-economice din secolele VI–X pe teritoriul României,” *Carpica* 36 (1997): 195–203; G. Bakó, “Despre structura socială a populației din epoca feudală timpurie de la Moldovinești,” *SCIV* 2 (1969): 337–42; Bakó, “Ogîndirea formelor de proprietate în unele necropole din epoca feudală timpurie din Transilvania,” *SCIV* 1 (1972): 83–91; Bejan, “Aspecte”; Olteanu, *Societatea romanească*, 1997; Olteanu et al., “Structuri economice”; Șt. Olteanu, E. Zaharia, and R. Popa, “Realități sociale (obștea sătească teritorială: instituții caracteristice și funcții sociale; procesul de diferențiere socială),” in *Istoria Românilor. Genezele românești*, ed. Șt. Pascu and R. Theodorescu, 3 (București, 2001), 64–70.

Archaeological investigations show that the populations of the territories north of the Lower Danube lived mostly in settlements and, in some areas, in hillforts as well, beginning in the second half of the ninth century. The recording and mapping of these sites highlights, on the one hand, demographic growth when compared to the previous period, and on the other hand, certain zones of concentrations for the settlements. However, the generalization of the situation regarding the social and political organization north of the Danube remains far more difficult because of the non-uniform research and unpublished archaeological results. In more thoroughly researched areas certain demographic concentrations can be highlighted, within which both settlements and hillforts have been found.

The modest number of thoroughly researched settlements together with high population mobility and dynamics of habitation do not allow us to evaluate or generalize borders for territorial groupings or data related to their internal structure. Many opinions on the organization,²⁰⁴ the extent, and the number of settlements within a territorial grouping²⁰⁵ have been offered in the specialized literature. The discovery of new early medieval archaeological sites, continuously changing the demographic picture in the regions north of the Lower Danube, decreases the validity of these conclusions. In this situation, we need further thorough studies in the field of historical demography which would take into account the geographical and historical peculiarities of each site taken separately. This would be in order to make an attempt to later generalize the demographic and the social situation in relation to the neighbouring regions and compared to other historical periods.

Economic principles are at the base of the social and political organization of every society. Thus, due to the elements of material culture that reflect the level of development of a community, certain features of social life, characteristic of early medieval society in the regions north of the Lower Danube, can be determined. The habitat in the Carpathian-Danubian space has had a rural character since ancient times with some minor exceptions in the regions, rich in subsoil reservoirs, where craft-specialized settlements developed. Throughout history, the people north of the Lower Danube were especially engaged in agriculture, but the concentration of settlements around areas with subsoil resources, salt, metals, and other resources shows that the inhabitants of these regions also practiced various economic activities and specialized in capitalizing on subsoil resources, such as the extraction, processing, and marketing of salt, metals, and other resources.

Human communities in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic regions were mostly concentrated in settlements. By the concept of *settlement*, we understand the development over time of a human community in a given geographical environment, whose formation is usually due to some common economic, social, cultural, and religious needs and interests. From a demographic perspective, every settlement is inhabited by a population

204 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 33; Bejan, "Economia satului," 267.

205 Gh. Postică, "Structuri teritoriale medievale timpurii în spațiul pruto-nistean," *RA* 1 (2005): 212.

made up of men and women, children, youth, adults, and elders, with a certain degree of health, a certain hope for life, a certain grade of infant mortality, of resistance to diseases, of weather fluctuations and historical realities.²⁰⁶ Thus, a settlement includes a set of geographical, human, social, economic, and cultural elements that, acting together as an integral whole, determine the mentality of the society in a certain period of time.

From a structural viewpoint, a settlement is composed of the main part of the village, a cemetery, land for agricultural pursuits, forests, pastures, and water sources.²⁰⁷ Dwellings and household annexes were concentrated in the *main part of the settlement*, used by people who, in order to ensure their daily needs, were engaged in different economic occupations.²⁰⁸ Many factors, either of geographical, climatic, demographic, economic, or political character, influenced the extension of the settlement's footprint. The surface of early medieval settlements cannot be determined with precision,²⁰⁹ as certain particular factors are characteristic of every geographical micro-zone.

The increase of the number of settlements, of their surface, and of the number of dwellings can be explained both by the phenomenon of *swarming* and by the migration of population groups outside of the original community.

The internal organization of these settlements is also quite difficult to uncover because of the small number of the sites that have been thoroughly investigated. The distribution of residential buildings and those with an economic character within the settlements were also influenced by various factors, primarily of a geographical nature (the geo-climatic conditions of the area, land configuration, etc.), and then of an economic or a social nature. Data on the number of dwellings within a settlement cannot be generalized for all the regions north of the Lower Danube, the more so as most of these settlements have not been fully investigated. The number of constructions varies from one case to another, depending on several factors—geographical, economic, social, and political. It can be seen that, in some settlements, the number of residential constructions was growing, while it was decreasing in others. For example, in the settlement at Bucov-Tioca six dwellings from the seventh century to the beginning of the ninth century and nine dwellings from the late ninth century to the beginning of the tenth century were discovered.²¹⁰ In the settlement at Hansca-Limbari-Căprăria twenty-two dwellings from the eighth century and seventeen dwellings from the ninth century were discovered.²¹¹ This situation is also characteristic to the settlement at Dridu, where, out of thirty dwellings discovered, twenty-three are from the first phase and only seven are of the second phase of habitation.²¹²

206 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 16.

207 R. Popa, "Probleme de metodă a cercetării arheologice a satului medieval românească," *SCIVA* 4 (1979): 555–63.

208 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 15–16; Olteanu et al., "Evoluția structurilor sociale," 212.

209 Cosma, "Considerații," 263.

210 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 157.

211 Postică, *Românii*, 10.

212 Zaharia, *Săpăturile de la Dridu*.

The eighth–ninth centuries, in most cases, are characterized by groupings of dwellings in *nests*, their numbers per nest ranging from two to six, as in the cases at *Bezid-Doborotvanya*, Mureș county, *Biharea*, *Cefa*, *Cernat-Roberntag*, *Covasna* county, *Comana de Jos-Gruicul Fierului*, Brașov county, *Filiaș-Pământul Pădurii*, Harghita county, *Hansa-Limbari-Căprăria*, *Ilidia*, *Lazuri*, *Satu Mare* county, *Lăpușel-Ciurgău*, *Maramureș* county, *Popeni-Cuceu*, *Sălaj* county, *Sânnicolau Român-Bereac*,²¹³ and so on. The free space found between the groups of dwellings was left, in all likelihood, for economic activities. In the settlement at *Dodești-Călugăreasca*, *Vaslui* county, the dwellings were arranged in two rows where groupings of dwellings in *nests* can be seen, organized, in all probability, on the basis of kinship. As the space between the dwellings was reduced, this suggested the placing of agricultural lots outside of the living space. This distribution of residential constructions and farmland represents a result of community organization according to certain social norms.²¹⁴

In some cases, the arrangement of dwellings in rows can be noticed, as is the case at *Biharea-Baraj*, *Bihor* county, *Cristuri Secuiesc-Valea Caldă* and *Poala Bradului*, *Harghita* county, *Dodești-Călugăreasca*, *Vaslui* county,²¹⁵ *Eliseni-Poala Văii Fânului*, *Harghita* county, *Iernut-La Biserică*, *Mureș* county, *Poian-Culmea Pietrosă*, *Covasna* county, *Simonești-Sub Stejari*, *Harghita* county,²¹⁶ *Červonoarmejskoe-Valul lui Traian* and *Suvorovo II-Nord*,²¹⁷ *Etulia-vest*,²¹⁸ and so on.

In the settlement at *Izvoare-Bahna-La Pod la Hărmănești*, *Neamț* county, twenty-three dwellings were discovered arranged uniformly, but in some cases certain alignments of contour may be noticed, such as L10, L11, L23, and L14-L16. Some houses are concentrated in nests, as in the cases of L1-L5 and L27, L29-L33, which could have belonged to groups of related families.²¹⁹ Approximately 800 m² of land within the settlement were attributable to one household. On average, the housing area was 12 m². The author of the discoveries estimates the population of the settlement at approximately 100–125 inhabitants, noting that not all the dwellings were built and inhabited in the same period of time. This led to an estimation of a synchronous existence of approximately 10–12 dwellings/families.²²⁰ Comparing this with the average size of the population of a settlement from the sixth–seventh centuries (twenty-eight to thirty-two people), I. Mitrea argues that, in the eighth–ninth centuries, the population in the settlement at *Izvoare-Bahna* practically doubled, to 40–60 people.

²¹³ Bejan, *Banatul*, 93; Cosma, “Considerații,” 263; Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul*, 27; Dulea, “Considerații,” 209; Postică, “Observații,” 74.

²¹⁴ Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 51, 137, fig. 21.

²¹⁵ Teodor, *Continuitatea*, 51, fig. 21.

²¹⁶ Cosma, “Considerații privind așezările,” 263; Dulea, “Considerații,” 209.

²¹⁷ Smilenko and Kozlovskij, “Srednevekove poselenija,” 75–76.

²¹⁸ Čebotarenko and Ščerbakova, “Raskopki poselenija,” 146.

²¹⁹ Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 88, fig. 5.

²²⁰ Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 95.

Cemeteries are also an indispensable element of a settlement, the research of which helps us to understand not only the spiritual aspects of life, but also the social organization of that community.²²¹ Funerary rites and rituals show the belonging of the inhabitants to certain religions and ethnically tied confessions with certain traditions of spiritual and social life. The number of graves in an excavated cemetery also gives us data on the size of the community. In the case of cemetery no. 2 at Bratei, for example, the existence of small families was recorded. Thus, a small family constituted the main economic and social element of early medieval communities.²²² We must also take into account the fact that small cemeteries can be the result of periodic changes in the main part of the settlements, a phenomenon characteristic of the early medieval period. M. Comsa attempted to determine the social position of some individuals based on discoveries from the cemetery in Nușfalău, arguing that the height of a tumular grave corresponded to the social status of the deceased buried beneath it.²²³

Thus, in some settlements, the concentration of dwellings in groups, the so-called *nests*, reflects that, in all likelihood, they belonged to an extended family or a kin group that, together with the others, constituted the nucleus of a rural community.²²⁴ By the late Middle Ages, and even into the modern epoch, children built their dwellings close to the parental home. The number of groups of dwellings varied from one settlement to another. In all likelihood, the areas of land where the dwellings were placed were in the possession of these family-nuclei, located among the constructions and the terrain in their immediate vicinity.

The social-economic form of organization for these communities was the territorial rural commune—*village community*, the institution characteristic of the regions north of the Danube for the entire Middle Ages.²²⁵ The form of ownership in the territorial commune was a combination of collective and private property. A. Bejan assumed that, in the early Middle Ages, there were two parallel forms of property: the land fund of the community and the lots for individual property.²²⁶ Forests, pastures, waters, or marshes constituted collective property and the arable land was divided into individual lots. The places intended for agriculture comprised parcels for ploughing, grazing, and hayfields. The woods were places for hunting and logging, and the rivers and the lakes or the ponds

221 Dumitrașcu, *Biharea I*, 23.

222 Olteanu et al., "Realități sociale," 70.

223 Comșa, "Slavii," 76.

224 M. Comșa considers that the large patriarchal family, consisting of both free members and slaves, continued to persist for a long time within the village communities. Comșa, "Cu privire," 436. G. Bakó, based on the discoveries of phase I in the settlement Dridu (the second half of the tenth century), considers that every house belonged to individual families and each of them represented one particular production and consumption unit. Also, the author believes that the population of early medieval settlement was organized in groups of people who made up the village community, led by the council elders. Bakó, "Despre organizarea," 371, 378.

225 Comșa, "Cu privire," 436; Spinei, *Moldova*, 102; Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 148; Olteanu et al., "Realități sociale," 64; Pascu et al., "Dinamica structurilor," 153.

226 Bejan, *Banatul*, 93; Bejan, *Contribuția la istoria*, 92.

were for fishing. As regards the material wealth of the commune members, it is quite difficult to distinguish between certain social categories by their wealth, because most of the investigated dwellings with the same peculiarities do not differ too much between themselves. The same thing refers to the cemeteries, where the most of the researched graves do not differ substantially by inventory.

The smaller dwellings (3 m × 4 m) lead us to suppose that they were inhabited by families with few members (a father, a mother, and children) and larger dwellings may suggest the presence of larger families (the elderly, married children, grandchildren), as in the case of the dwellings L-9 and L-11 at Biharea.²²⁷ In all likelihood, especially in the case of housing nests, the members of large families lived in many dwellings (the elderly and young families).

The property of every family comprised dwellings, household annexes (outbuildings, fire installations, waste pits, and household supplies pits, etc.), and, in some cases, artisan workshops and various tools needed to perform certain economic pursuits, as has been shown by the inventory discovered within various constructions.²²⁸ In the case of agricultural tools, they demonstrate farming, but many are found grouped in deposits which, in most cases, had some social significance. As the deposits do not prove either the level of agricultural development or the existence of some local chiefs who had accumulated wealth, those objects (like guns and pieces of harness from the same deposits) are marks of prestige.

The empowering of some community members with social functions is difficult to reconstruct. It is certain that some members of society fulfilled particular social and political functions. Special social positions among the local population were obtained by people who went between the Avar, Bulgarian, or Slavic leaders, by the payment of certain taxes. There were local leaders among these privileged elements who, in all probability, constituted an important factor in the process of the creation of the unions of communes and of the building of hillforts.²²⁹ Such fortresses are known in the regions east and northeast of the Carpathians, in Transylvania, and in the Banat. The emergence of hillforts was related to the political situation and the level of socio-economic development among the population north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries. The investigation of groups of settlements and fortresses proves the existence of some forms of political organization in these communities. The construction of settlements with defensive systems required a joint effort from the human communities of the region. Within these territorial complexes, the fortresses had social-economic, military, and political functions. Thus, hillforts played both the role of a refuge and that of an economic, political-administrative, and religious centre.

The emergence of hillforts is both a result of the evolution of local society and of the displacement of populations from other regions. The presence of defensive systems in the regions north of the Lower Danube reflected the level of economic and military development of these communities and the existence of social structures within them.

227 Dumitraşcu, *Biharea I*, 189.

228 Olteanu et al., "Realităţi sociale," 64.

229 D. Gh. Teodor, "Tezaurul de la Răducăneni-Iaşi," *SCIVA* 31 (1980): 422.

In the period of the enlargement of the Bulgarian Khanate, the influences of the south-Danubian communities north of the Lower Danube certainly led to a rise in the level of material culture of local communities located north of the Lower Danube; however, we believe that their role in building *incipient feudal societies* or *early feudal states* has been exaggerated.²³⁰ The mention of some local leaders in written sources in conjunction with archaeological data demonstrates the appearance of local social-political formations towards the end of the ninth century to the beginning of the tenth century, which, however, could not compete in terms of military-political, social-economic, or cultural-religious organization with other early medieval states in Western Europe, the Bulgarian Khanate, or other political formations on the periphery of the Byzantine world.

The mention of some local leaders (*duces*) who opposed Hungarian attacks by Anonymus would mean that they had an organized military force capable of defending their lands. It is unclear whether the army was permanent or whether it was only gathered in case of war via conscription. Traces of weapons (spear and arrow heads, lances, battle-axes, and so on) discovered in the investigated settlements, especially in the fortified ones, demonstrate their use for military purposes. The emergence of hillforts and the growth and diversification of military inventories reflect the importance of military organization to the communities north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–ninth centuries. The discovery of weapons in some graves indicated the status of a free man with military obligations held by the deceased.

The archaeological situation in Transylvania and in the regions west of the Carpathians confirms the reports of the Hungarian chronicler Anonymus, on a large scale, regarding the existence of several voivodeships or duchies in the region at the time of the Hungarians' arrival. The first encompassed the regions to the west until the Tisza (a *fluuius Zomus usque ad confirmium Nyr*), eastward to Piatra Craiului and the Carpathians (*inter Thisciam et siluam Igfon, que iacet ad Erdeuelu*),²³¹ southward to the Mureş, to the southeast to the Porțile Meseului (*Usque ad portam Mezesinam*), and to north to the Someş (a *fluuius Morus usque ad fluuium Zomus*).²³² The principality was led by *dux Morout*, called *Menumorout* by the Hungarians, residing in *castrum Byhor*. The Hungarian chronicler also mentions other fortresses, such as the *Castrum Zotmar* and *Zylos*, in the context of the military campaign against *Menumorout*.²³³ The fortress at Biharea occupied an area of approximately 17,000 m² and is surrounded by a wall (30–35 m wide) and a moat (20 m wide).²³⁴

The second voivodeship was *terra Ultransilvania*, which included the intra-Carpathians territories led by *dux Gelou*.²³⁵ The north-western border of the voivodeship was limited by

230 Comşa, "Slavii," 76; Comşa, "Cu privire," 440.

231 *Gesta Hungarorum*, XI. De ciuitatibus Lodomer et Galicia.

232 *Gesta Hungarorum*, XI. De ciuitatibus Lodomer et Galicia.

233 *Gesta Hungarorum*, XIX. De duce Bychoriensys. XXVIII. De duce Menumorout.

234 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 249.

235 The ethnicity and the socio-political position of the voivode is mentioned in the chronicle *quidam Blacus, Gelou ducem Blacorum, dux ultra siluanus* (A certain vlach, Gelu duke of the vlachs, a transilvanian ruler).

the military formation at Menumorut, which is demonstrated by the hillforts placed on the line of the Porțile Meseșului and the narration of Anonymus: *Ut cum per portas Mezesinas prohiberet* (then denied access through the gates of Mezesina). The other borders of the formation were by the Eastern, the Southern, and the Western Carpathians, which is demonstrated by the open and hillforts line located on the inside line of the Carpathians. Thus, the territory of the voivodeship led by Gelu mostly corresponds with the Transylvanian Plateau. The voivodeship was inhabited by *Blasii et Slavi*, and the voivode was called *Gelou dux Blacorum* and *dux Ultrasilvanus*. In the context of Hungarian expansion, the chronicle mentions Gelu's resistance on the line of the Meseș and his retirement to the fortress on the river Someș *ad castrum suum iuxta fluvium Zomus positum* (to his castle located by the river Someș).²³⁶ The importance of the border at the line of the Meseș is demonstrated by the hillforts there (Map 4).

The third voivodeship was constituted by certain parts of the Banat plain, limited to the north by the Mures, in the south by Orșova or Vrșac (*a fluuio Morus usque as casstrum Vrschia*),²³⁷ and in the east by the foothills of the Carpathians. The voivodeship was led by Glad, who came out of the fortress of Budyn with the help of the Kumans and of whose offspring Ohtum was born (*de Bundyn castro egressus adiutorio cumanorum ex cuius progene Ohtum fuit natus* / He left from the Bundyn castle with the help of the Cumans of whose progeny Oht was born),²³⁸ residing in *castrum Keuee*.²³⁹ In another passage, it is stated that the duke Glad ruled from the river Mures to the fortress of Horom, with the Kumans, the Bulgarians, and the Blachi as his subjects. Indeed, in the multiethnic cemeteries of the Banat the Slavs, the Blachi, the Avars, and then the Hungarians were buried along with elements of Byzantine, Moravian, and Bulgarian culture.²⁴⁰

Even if we do not have written references and the archaeological data reflect only the current level of knowledge, we can formulate some working hypotheses about the organization of socio-political and military structures in other regions north of the Lower Danube as well. The presence of hillforts within some territorial groups reflects the degree of development of these communities and can suggest certain aspects of their social and political organization. Demographic concentrations in the northern Bukovina, on the Central Moldavian Plateau, in the middle course of the Dniester and the Codrii of Orhei, south of the Carpathians, in the valleys of the rivers Călmățui, Buzău, Ialomița, Argeș, Dâmbovița, Danube, and elsewhere constitute specific forms of political, social, and military organization in these regions.

All the above-mentioned aspects tell us about the beginnings of social differentiation at the heart of the communities north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries,

236 *Gesta Hungarorum*, XXIV. De terra ultra siluana. XXVI. Quomodo contra Gelou itum est. XXVII. De morte Gelou.

237 *Gesta Hungarorum*, XI. De ciuitatibus Lodomer et Galicia. *Vrschia* could have been Orșova in the Romanian archaeologists' traditional opinion or, more likely, Vrșac, in Serbia.

238 *Gesta Hungarorum*, XI. De ciuitatibus Lodomer et Galicia.

239 *Gesta Hungarorum*, XLIV. De insula Danubij. *Castrum Keue* is the fortress Kubin, Serbia.

240 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 265.

which evolved in the immediately following period into the local political structures of voivodeships, duchies, and principalities.²⁴¹

Relations with Neighbours

During the eighth–ninth centuries, European history was marked by important political, economic, social, religious, and cultural changes, which culminated in the organization of early feudal states. Some of these events also had a direct impact on the Carpathian-Danubian space.

In the seventh–eighth centuries, Byzantine sources mention the Avars west of the Tisza,²⁴² but their dominance in these regions exceeded the Tisza, controlling some regions east of the river and the western hills of the Western Carpathians as well.²⁴³ The displacement of a new wave of Avars into Pannonia (679–680) resulted in a series of demographic changes which strengthened the Avar Kaganate in this region, which included populations of different ethnicities—the Avars and the Slavs having been predominant. The eighth century was a period of intense military confrontation for the Avars, rushing to defend their territories, especially in the western and the southern regions of the Kaganate.²⁴⁴ The last quarter of the eighth century (788–796) was marked by a series of military conflicts between the Avar and the Frankish powers.²⁴⁵ After the failure of the Avar campaign in 788 in northern Italy, which was immediately followed by Frankish attack, the Avar border shifted considerably eastwards. The Avars' attempt in 790 to discuss new borders was unsuccessful. In the autumn of 791 Frankish armies attacked the western territories of the Avar Kaganate. The Avar failure was actually the beginning of internal disagreement within the Avar aristocracy, which had led to its division into two camps. Tudun (*dux de Pannonia*), the leader of the Avars and the Slavs from the western part of the Kaganate, passed under the suzerainty of the Franks in 795 and was christened. He sought to expand their influence on the territories east of Pannonia which held allegiance to the Kaganate as well, with the help of the Franks.²⁴⁶ In 796 the Avars were attacked by Pepin, the king of Italy, which again affected Avar power in Pannonia. Thus, by the end of the eighth century, the Avars had managed to maintain the independence of the Avar Kaganate on the Pannonian Plain with great effort and to retain their mastery over it. The penetration of the Bulgarians in the late seventh century affected some southern areas of the east-Carpathian space and the eastern part of the Danubian Plain only temporarily, as they passed south of the river soon afterward. In the eighth century, the Bulgarian Khanate had no possibilities for expansion

241 Spinei, *Moldova*, 102.

242 Theophanes Confessor (Mărturistorul), *FHDR* 2, 591, 617 and so on.

243 Szentpéteri, *Archäologische Denkmäler*, map 1.

244 After the periodization proposed by K. Horedt, this time interval represents late Avar period (700–792), Horedt, *Contribuții*, 65.

245 Daim, "Istorija i arhaeologija avar," 279–80.

246 Szóke, "The Question," 146.

into the Danubian regions, being involved in fights with Byzantium—mostly for control of regions in the Balkans.²⁴⁷ For Byzantium, the military-political situation on the Danube was an important point of foreign policy. After the crisis at the beginning of the seventh century, Byzantium focused its attention on the Danubian regions by organizing the Thrace diocese, later used as a base against the Bulgarians. The eighth and the ninth centuries brought to the Byzantine Empire new political and economic policies, both internally and externally. The outbreak of an iconoclastic movement in 726 due to an edict issued by Leon III brought great damage to the Byzantine Empire, not only spiritually but also economically and politically. The restoration of Byzantine power would only occur after the end of the iconoclastic era.

In the eighth and the ninth centuries, the regions north of the Lower Danube benefited from relative political stability due to the so-called *pax chazarica*. The establishment of the Khazar Khaganate in the regions north of the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus, and the Black Sea halted the advancement of the Arabs and the nomadic tribes from Asia to the West during that period. The attraction of the Khazars to the side of Byzantium aimed not only to fight against their common opponents (the Persians, the Arabs) but also to stop the penetration of nomadic peoples into imperial territories.²⁴⁸ The Khaganate mostly consisted of Turanian populations, including the Bulgarians and the Alans, and more remote Slavic tribes (the Polanians, the Viaticchi, the Severjane, the Radimichi) were only subject in terms of tribute. Thus, demographically and culturally, Khazaria was a multiethnic and poly-confessional conglomerate, which was memorialized in the archaeological culture *Saltovo-Majack* (during the eighth–tenth centuries), spread between the rivers Dnieper and Volga, where several regional variants can be distinguished.²⁴⁹ Following the middle of the ninth century, the internal divergences between the Cabars, the Petchenegs, and the Uzi and later external conflict with Byzantium led to a diminution in the political power of the Khazar Khaganate and to a rupture in the political balance in Eastern Europe. Thus, new populations of nomadic horsemen emerged in the North-Pontic steppes in the ninth century. The first were the Hungarians, who did not spend much time there as, being under pressure by the Petchenegs, they migrated to the Pannonian Plain where they later created the Hungarian state. Hungarian raids to the mouth of the Danube began during the first half of the ninth century, and their displacement from Levedia to Etelköz was accomplished only in the last decades of the ninth century.²⁵⁰

The situation became more complicated in the early ninth century in the regions west of the Carpathians as well when the Avar Khaganate was liquidated under the blows of the Frankish kingdom led by Charlemagne²⁵¹ and of the Bulgarians²⁵² led

247 A. Fol, V. Gjuyev, N. Genčev, K. Kosev, I. Dimitrov, A. Pantev, M. Lalkov, and K. Petrov, *Kratka istorija na B'lgarija* (Sofia, 1981), 42–44.

248 M. I. Artamonov, *Istorija Hazar* (Leningrad, 1962); S. A. Pletneva, *Hazary*, Moskva, 1986; C. Zuckerman, "Hazary i Vizantija: pervye kontakty," *MAJET* 8 (2001): 212–333.

249 Pletneva, "Ot kočevij," 185–90.

250 Spinei, *Ultimele valuri*, 28.

251 J. Kovačević, *Avarski Kaganat* (Beograd, 1977), 94–97.

252 G. Feher, "Avaro-vizantijskie snošenija i osnovanie bolgarskoj deržavy," *AAH* 5 (1955): 55–58.

by Krum, which resulted in the establishment of a new military-political order on the Pannonian Plain. This had a direct impact on the regions east of the Tisza as well.²⁵³ The abolishment of the Avar Kaganate led to a situation in which control of its former territory was disputed by the eastern Frankish Empire, the Moravian principality, and the Bulgarian state. This process was produced gradually, as at the court of Charels Avar messages in the years 805, 811, and, finally, 822 have been proven, each time asking for help in resolving conflicts in Pannonia between Slavic and Avar leaders.²⁵⁴ In 811, after a new Frankish intervention into the Pannonian Plain, Charels called the Chagan, the Tudun, and the Slavic leaders from Aachen to his residence. Thus, in the first half of the ninth century, the Frankish Empire virtually controlled the territories west of the Danube, organizing there many border Marches (Avaria, Carinthia, Friul) and the regions of the Tisza basin entered the sphere of influence of the Bulgarian Khanate.²⁵⁵ On the other hand, the loss of Avar political primacy favoured the organization of some politico-military formations among the Slavic tribes: the Croats were established on the territory of the former province of Dalmatia, the Serbs had settled in what is now southern Serbia in the late eighth century, and were organized by the ninth century under Prince Vlastimir as an independent state formation, soon arriving under the suzerainty of the Byzantine Empire. Western Slavic tribes, in their war with the Avars, had formed many tribal unions, which were at the base of the formation led by Samo, based on which the Great Moravian state was formed in the ninth century, headed by Moimo (Mojmir),²⁵⁶ who took over the regions east of the Tisza.

During the ninth century, the Bulgarians intensified their military-political activity in the areas north of the Danube.²⁵⁷ In the time of Krum (802–814), the Bulgarian Khanate became an important political and military power in Europe. In 809, Krum occupied Serdica (Sofia) and in 811 he defeated the Byzantine army and killed the Emperor Nikephoros I. In 813, he besieged Adrianople and managed to conquer it. Aiming to strengthen his positions north of the Danube, he commanded the displacement of a population of 10,000–12,000 to “Bulgaria across the river Istros.” Khan Omurtag (814–831), Krum’s successor, continued the politics of Bulgarian expansion north of the Danube, as witnessed by two funerary inscriptions mentioning two Bulgarian campaigns, the first one in the region of the river Dnieper and the second near the Tisza.²⁵⁸ The military failures of Omurtag’s time reduced the power of the Bulgarians. The inhabitants of Adrianopole took advantage of this situation and took steps to repatriate using Byzantine military assistance. In 837, the Bulgarians called on the Hungarians for help

253 Rusu, “Transilvania,” 178; S. Dumitraşcu, “Note istoriografice privind anul 800 e.n.,” *Apulum* 34 (1997): 720.

254 Daim, “Istorija i arhaeologija avar,” 282.

255 Spinei, *Ultimele valuri*, 29.

256 A. Ruttikay, “The Organization of Troops, Warfare and Arms in the Period of the Great Moravian State,” *SlArch* 30 (1982): 165–98.

257 Fol et al., *Kratka istorija*, 44.

258 Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen*, VI. Grabinschriften, no. 58, 281–85, pl. 114–115 and no. 59, 285–87, pl. 116.

in order to thwart the repatriation of the inhabitants of Adrianopole. The intervention of the Hungarian horsemen was rejected by the deportees, who were supported by the Byzantine fleet. At the beginning of the ninth century, campaigns to extend Bulgarian power into the north-western regions of the Balkan Peninsula took place. Local leaders had repeatedly called for Frank support. Thus, in 818, the delegates of Obodrits, neighbour to the Bulgarians and living in Dacia near the Danube, were in Heristal at the court of King Louis the Pious, and in 824 at the royal court in Frankfurt. In 824 a peace agreement between the Franks and the Bulgarians was concluded, that was interrupted after some differences and reissued in 829.²⁵⁹ Thus, in 827, the Bulgarian state managed to impose its domination over the Slavic princes of Slavonia, which caused discontent with the Frankish King Louis the Pious (814–840) and his son, Louis II Germanicia. The intervention of Great Moravia into the conflict further complicated the political situation in the region. In the ninth century, the Bulgarians continued their expansion north of the Danube, reaching the upper basin of the Tisza, where they bordered the Moravians.²⁶⁰ On the occasion of disagreements between the Franks and the Moravians, Hungarian horsemen appeared for the first time in the Pannonian territories in 862, as they had been called in for aid by the Moravian prince Rastislav, in all likelihood. The Frankish King Louis II was forced to ask the Bulgarians for help, who, led by Khan Boris, attacked the Moravian armies in 863. In the same year, the Christianization of the Moravians was accomplished under the auspices of Byzantium, a fact that highlights the interests of Constantinople in combatting the papal offensive in the Balkans. The Moravian-Hungarian partnership was continued in the year 881 by the prince of Great Moravia, Sviatopluk (870–894), Rastislav's successor, when the Hungarians, supported by the Cabars, reached the area of Vienna. Sviatopluk tried to pacify relations with the Germans and to approach the Catholic Church, obtaining in 874 the title of an independent duke from Louis Germanicia and the title of king from Pope John VIII in 880. During the time of Sviatopluk, the Moravian offensive against the Slavic tribes in the regions of the rivers Oder and Vistula, Bohemia, Western Pannonia, and the Tisza Plain intensified, reaching Sirmium and Belgrade by the year 882. The Moravian campaigns affected the interests of the Bulgarians in the Danubian regions, and thus they unsuccessfully attacked the Moravian army in 883. After the death of Bishop Methodius in 885, Sviatopluk drove away his followers and returned to the liturgy in Latin, leading a series of talks with Pope John VIII.²⁶¹ This attitude finds its explanation in the shift in Moravian politics in order to resist the tendency of Frankish expansion supported by the papacy. By the end of the ninth century, the activity of the Hungarian horsemen in the Danubian regions intensified, as they participated in many political intrigues and robbery campaigns. In 892, the Hungarians were on the side of King Arnulf of Bavaria against Great Moravia, and in 894 they came back to Pannonia on the side of the Moravians. In 892, in the context of the German-Moravian conflict, King Arnulf called on the Bulgarians not to allow the sale of

259 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 227.

260 Iambor, *Așezări fortificate*, 227.

261 Xenopol, *Istoria românilor*, 296–97.

salt in Moravia,²⁶² a fact which demonstrates the presence of the Bulgarians north of the Danube as well as their control over the salt trade in these regions. At the same time, this event highlights the importance of the salt supply in Moravia from the salty areas of Transylvania and, in general, the importance of this product and the salt trade in Europe in that period.²⁶³ Military confrontations between the Moravians and Arnulf had reduced the power of the Moravian state, and after the death of Sviatopluk (894) it split up into several parts. The regions remaining under the control of Prince Mojmir II (895–906) were conquered by the year 906 by the Hungarians.

In the ninth century, not only the debate over religious doctrine but also the rivalry between Constantinople's Patriarchate and the Catholic Church intensified over influence on the Balkan-Danubian territories. In order to remove these regions from the sphere of influence of Charles and the Church of Rome, Byzantine diplomacy and the Patriarchate of Constantinople succeeded in 864, in the days of the Khan Boris, became Michael through baptism, probably in homage to the name of the Byzantine Emperor Michael III, to Christianize the Bulgarians, though this did not make the Bulgarians more loyal to imperial authority. Thus, the coming to power of the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon the Great (893–927) led to the organization of vigorous military operations against the Byzantines. The emperor Leon VI the Wise (886–912), having been trained in the war with the Arabs, asked the Hungarians, led by Arpad, for help against the Bulgarians in 895. Helped by the Byzantine fleet, the Hungarians crossed the Danube and attacked the Bulgarians. Their Khan, Simion, in order to avoid the Hungarian danger, was forced on the one hand to offer a higher price to the Hungarian for prisoners, and on the other hand to cease the offensive against Byzantium and made peace. Shortly after this conflict, the Bulgarians signed an agreement with the Petchenegs against the Hungarians. This event occurred in the year 896, when the armies of the Bulgarians and the Petchenegs produced a heavy defeat of the Hungarians, who had to withdraw from the North-Pontic regions (Etelköz) to Pannonia. The Hungarian arrival west of the Tisza directly affected the interests of the Franks, the Moravians, and the Bulgarians. The Hungarian settlement on the Pannonian Plain broke its links with the other regions of the Carpathian Basin held by Moravia, situated in a political decline in that period, which resulted in the disappearance of the Moravian state by the year 902, ending with its conquest by the Hungarians. On the Pannonian Plain, the Hungarians overlapped with a Slavic-Avar population which was unable to resist at that time. The cohabitation of the Hungarians with the Slavic population is reflected in the archaeological culture *Bjelo Brdo* (the tenth–eleventh centuries). Hungarian penetration into these new territories and their search for resources brought them into contact with the Romanians, the fact of which was recorded by two medieval chronicles, *Povest' Vremennyh Let* and *Gesta Hungarorum*, where clashes between the Hungarians, the Vlachs, and the Slavs

262 In *Analele Fuldenses* it is mentioned that for the fear of the Moravians, King Arnulf sent surreptitiously and only by water, not on ordinary roads, the messengers to the Bulgarian Khan Vladimir asking to renew the peace and the alliance between the two against the common enemy.

263 Treml et al., *Salz macht*, the map of zone range of salt deposits in central and Western Europe.

are narrated following their crossing of the Carpathians. In the ninth–tenth centuries, the Transylvanian regions were inhabited by a quite large population that, according to the reports of Anonymus, was concentrated in several Romanian-Slavic-Bulgarian political formations. The Hungarian interest in these regions is explained by the presence of salt deposits, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, and of broad plains suitable for grazing. Consequently, the gradual advancement of the Hungarians east of the Tisza at the beginning of the tenth century can be explained by the search for resources, first into the Banat (Glad's voivodeship), then into Crișana (Menumorut' voivodeship) and into Transylvania (Gelu's voivodeship). In all likelihood, the first military campaigns of the Hungarians into Transylvania did not end with the establishment of their dominion, as they were unable to manage large territories at that time.²⁶⁴

Narrative and archaeological sources confirm the presence of the Tyvertsy and the Ulych at the end of the ninth and during the tenth century between the Dniester and the Răut.²⁶⁵ Initially, the Tyvertsy and the Ulych lived along the Dnieper river, having been forced to uproot themselves from between the Bug and the Dnieper because of the expansionist tendencies of Kievan Rus. The Tyvertsy came first, in all probability, by the middle of the ninth century, followed by the Ulych in the tenth century.²⁶⁶ By the end of the ninth century to the beginning of the tenth century, through the efforts of the Slavs and the Varangians the Kievan principality had consolidated its political power in the middle basin of the Dnieper. Under the rule of prince Oleg (882–912), the Kievan state succeeded in breaking free from Khazar subordination and to submit a number of Slavic tribes. In 885 the Tyvertsy and the Ulych were in the army of Prince Oleg fighting against Byzantium, which means that they had entered, for a certain period of time, under the influence of a Slavic state, like the white Croats from the upper course of the Dniester.²⁶⁷ Thus, at the beginning of the tenth century, there was a change in the political balance in Central and Eastern Europe, which had a direct impact on the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic territories.

The ethnic paradigm of early medieval archaeology was dominant in the historiography of the second half of the twentieth century. In the context of addressing issues related to the ethnogenesis of various nations, the problems of continuity, of the unity of local communities, and of the differences between indigenous and migratory populations have been raised as well.

In the absence of written sources, archaeological discoveries have become the main source for the reconstruction of the history, culture, and ethnicity of the early medieval society of the Carpathian-Danubian regions. Archaeological cultures were invented for more systematic analysis and evaluation of discoveries. However, the attempts to make

264 Spinei, *Ultimele valuri*, 38.

265 In *The tale of bygone years*, the chronicler Nestor locates the Ulichi and the Tivertsi quite clearly on the territories between the Dniester, the Black Sea, and the Danube, PVL, 1, 14.

266 Hîncu, "Tivertzii și ulicii," 99.

267 Spinei, *Realități etnice*, 58.

a direct connection between archaeological cultures and ethnic groups have not always been sufficiently substantiated. Ethnic identities are important components of society but they are not represented in material cultures and social structures. Therefore ethnic constructions have gradually become controversial topics in archaeology.

We must state that the political history of the eighth–ninth centuries was quite agitated, so the concepts of a *pax avarica*, *pax chazarica*, or a *situation of relative political tranquillity*, proved to be valid only for short periods and in some areas north of the Lower Danube, as political events in the immediate vicinity had a direct impact on the territories east, south, and west of the Carpathians. Positive evidence of this framework is found in the fight for control over the salt trade in the region, an increase in the number of Avar, Slavic, and Slavic-Bulgarian cemeteries in the intra-Carpathian regions, and so on.

In the eighth–ninth centuries, a period of political, economic, and cultural transformations initiated in previous centuries, along with the movement of various population groups from one area to another, continued. In this context, archaeology should focus more on assessments of the social, economic, and cultural order than of the ethnic order. In most cases, discoveries at archaeological sites dating from the eighth–ninth centuries represent features of the habitat, of elements of the level of economic development, of differences in funerary rites and rituals, and of social stratification, but they do not determine their ethnic attribution by any means. It is difficult to determine ethnic differences based on material objects. The archaeological inventory is related to the economic and social status of either an individual or of the community that produced or used it.

CONCLUSIONS

GIVEN THE SCOPE of the project, this book constitutes a historical-archaeological synthesis in its entirety of the Carpathian-Danubian space during the eighth and the ninth centuries. Thus, through this book, we have offered narrative information and archaeological data regarding the history of the eighth and the ninth centuries.

Archaeological research on the early Middle Ages in the regions north of the Lower Danube has been steadily improving over the last six or seven decades. This study has been realized based on the data published in the specialized literature; however, we should be clear that many archaeological discoveries from the researched period still remain unpublished and thus publicly unavailable. Nevertheless, the data so far give us a rich trove of material, on the basis of which the early medieval history of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic regions can be reconstituted.

For the first time, this work has included the majority of archaeological discoveries across a wide territory north of the Lower Danube, between the Tisza and the Dniester, in one study, going beyond current political boundaries. Over 2,500 archaeological points have been recorded and mapped in this book, reflecting the current level of our archaeological knowledge about the regions included into the research. Based on statistical data, we can observe an increase in the number of archaeological sites dating from the eighth–ninth centuries as compared to those from the fifth–seventh centuries, a phenomenon characteristic of most geographical areas in the Carpathian-Danubian space.¹

Although written sources regarding the early Middle Ages remain modest and controversial, archaeological data continue to accrue and can form the basis of synthetic studies of the history of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic regions. Narrative data were used in the context of the event and the phenomenon referred to by the medieval authors. Analysis of the history of archaeological investigations and the historiography of the problem allowed us to establish the current state of research regarding the history of the eighth–ninth centuries in a number of European states. The review of historiographical achievements allowed us to highlight the main results in this area as well as the diversity of issues addressed by researchers concerned with the early medieval history of the Carpathian-Danubian regions. A common historiographical feature is the dogmatization of historical work under totalitarian regimes, which had a negative impact on the research produced with a number of consequences for contemporary societies. Another feature is the presence of *white spots* on archaeological maps, due, in most cases, to a lack of substantial research into them. Our approach has exceeded contemporary political boundaries and focused on research into historical sources in order to reconstruct the history of the eighth–ninth centuries in the regions north of the Lower Danube, between the rivers Tisza and Dniester.

The peculiarities of the geographical environment, climate, flora, and fauna of the Carpathian-Danubian regions were attractive for a prehistoric human habitat. Known

¹ Postică, "Observații," 60.

today, early medieval archaeological evidence demonstrates the fact that people of the eighth–ninth centuries widely used the opportunities offered by the geographical environment north of the Lower Danube. Although the geographical relief of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space did not undergo major changes over the last two millennia, the geo-climatic conditions did vary from one century to another. Analysis of the particularities of the Carpathian-Danubian geographical framework and of climate change in the eighth–ninth centuries enabled us to place archaeological discoveries in a wider historical and geographical context. Water levels dropped due to the dry climate, which led to changes in the local vegetation in the eighth century. The restoration of relative humidity in the Carpathian Basin occurred only in the ninth century, which led to a restoration of vegetative cover. Climatic oscillations influenced human habitat, which is very sensitive to changes in the natural world. In search of favourable places for life, people dependent on geo-climatic conditions settled down on territories close to water sources. Thus, due to the dry climate of the eighth century, human settlements were virtually absent in the steppe areas, arriving over the ninth century in a significant number as the climate changed; such was the situation on the Bugeac Steppe or the Wallachian Plain.

Demographic growth and economic changes had a direct impact on the social, economic, and political organization of society. Archaeological investigations show that the population of the territories north of the Lower Danube lived mostly in settlements, and, in some areas following the second half of the ninth century, also in hillforts. The situation demonstrated within the investigated settlements and cemeteries regarding the arrangement of dwellings and economic buildings and the depositing of the deceased in graves, as well as the agricultural and artisanal inventory, highlight the characteristic peculiarities of the habitat in the eighth–ninth centuries. The geographical locations of human settlements mostly depended on topographical factors. Thus, while fortresses were located in areas of high relief, settlements are found on the surfaces of virtually all forms of relief, with the exception of mountain areas. A characteristic feature of the studied period is the location of settlements in river valleys, even in their flood plains, which was caused by the climatic conditions of that epoch—a dry climate that contributed to the lowering of water levels. The concentration of settlements in certain regions (Map 2) was based not only on topographical and climatic criteria, but also on social, economic, and political criteria.

In terms of the planimetry of settlements, based on archaeological data we can distinguish between spaces for living, for storing provisions, for economic activities, and for social and religious activities. Within the studied settlements, the presence of a number of auxiliary and productive constructions near dwellings has been demonstrated, which could have represented household units or centres of production. Thus, according to the order of placement exhibited by these constructions and the delineation of spaces for common activities we can infer the presence of a structural organization within each settlement based on social and economic criteria. The emergence of hillforts in the Carpathian regions took place in a European geographical context, characteristic of the regions between the Elba and the Dniester during the seventh–tenth centuries.

During the eighth–ninth centuries, human communities showed the features of a sedentary society based on an agricultural economy (farming and animal husbandry)

supplemented with numerous crafts and household occupations. Most settlements were located on the terraces around streams, rivers, and springs, land that was favourable for agriculture with available subsoil resources (salt, iron ore, etc.) that facilitated the exercise of various economic occupations.

The predominant type of housing remained rectangular buildings, more or less deep-set into the ground, with walls of straw or wooden planks, often coated with clay, and a roof with two slopes, together with a heating installation in one of the corners. Dwellings arranged *in nests* are a phenomenon peculiar to all the researched regions with some minor exceptions in the case of those settlements built along the banks of rivers, lakes, and ravines. Overall, the planimetry and construction techniques used for housing are similar across the Carpathian-Danubian regions, with some minor exceptions for lowland areas where there was less wood available than in plateau areas. Thus, if in the hilly regions the dwellings were built mostly of logs, then in plains areas the walls were largely made of twigs coated with clay.

Heating systems consisted mostly of simple open ovens made of earth and large rocks, stone ovens (mostly river stones, though in some areas the stone was brought from the mountains, or even some fragmented millstones would be used), or clay ovens dug into the natural wall of the dwelling or into a clay block in one of the corners of the building.

Generally, residential buildings, fire installations (simple ovens, portable ovens, stone ovens, dug-in ovens), some categories of objects (iron knives, weaving loom weights), handmade ceramic molds, and other items from the eighth–ninth centuries are similar to those from the sixth–seventh centuries. However, the archaeological inventory of settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries is richer and more diversified in comparison to those from sites dating from the sixth–seventh centuries, as evidenced by a comparison of the materials discovered in settlements with multiple cultural horizons, such as those at Izvoare-Bahna-*La pod la Hărmănești*,² Hansca-Limbari-Căprăria,³ and elsewhere.

As compared to the fifth–seventh centuries, there is an increase in and diversification of tools in settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries, proving the evolution of productive forces over that period. The extensive practice of agriculture and other economic activities under conditions of demographic growth demonstrate an intense activity in human communities north of the Lower Danube during the eighth–ninth centuries in order to supply demand for necessary products. The discovery of plough parts (coulters, plough knives, plough rakers) and other types of tools intended for working the soil, along with paleobotanical traces of processing and other signs, demonstrate the extent of agricultural practices in the Carpathian-Danubian territories. Based on archaeozoological data, we can grasp the extent and variety of animal species bred under domestic conditions. Large horned cattle predominated among the domestic animals in most regions, which were used both in human nutrition and as labour power.

2 Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 73.

3 Postică, *România din codrii*.

Artifacts found both inside complexes and in cultural layers are evidence of artisanal practices. Workshops and specially arranged ovens have been discovered in some settlements, demonstrating specialization of some craftsmen in various fields. Thus, some buildings had a special purpose, having been arranged for certain types of crafts: blacksmithing, pottery, the processing of horn, bone, stone, or wood, weaving, tailoring, and so on.

In the eighth–ninth centuries, ceramic materials are larger and more varied than in the sixth–seventh centuries, while pottery made on a wheel advanced in relation to handmade pottery.⁴ During the ninth century, the percentage of pottery made on a rapid wheel increased.⁵

In the eighth–ninth centuries, as compared to the sixth–seventh centuries, the number of pieces of adornment and clothing (bracelets, pendants, buckles, earrings, rings, appliques, and beads of coloured glass paste) increased, which also reflected the evolution of local society and contacts with neighbours.⁶ Analysis of this category of item in a broader context would allow us to discuss a number of aspects of identity—gendered, social, religious, and ethnic aspects in particular—since, based on adornment and clothing, judgements on gender, age, social status, religious and cultural identity, and other axes of identity can be essayed. An impediment in achieving these goals is the unpublished status of the results of many of these archaeological investigations.

The economy of the eighth–ninth centuries had a versatile character oriented towards consumption. Most of the goods produced were to provide the population with everything necessary for life. In some cases, we can talk about the existence of exchange relations, largely based on natural exchange. However, salt extraction had a commercial character at the European level. The clashes between the Avars and the Bulgarians, and later between the Hungarians and the Bulgarians, in the basin of the Lower Danube were directly linked to control of the salt trade. Byzantine coins have been found within the north-Danubian territories in the eighth–ninth centuries only sporadically and cannot be linked to the existence of trade relations between Byzantium and the Carpathian-Danubian territories at that time. The same can be said about monetary discoveries of Cufic and West European origins.

The presence of a wide variety of funerary rites and rituals in the Carpathian-Danubian space does not allow us to support the idea of a uniform society in religious terms in the eighth–ninth centuries. On the contrary, we find the coexistence of populations with various spiritual and religious traditions in that period, which is directly shown by the discovery of incineration, biritual, and inhumation cemeteries. Based on currently available archaeological data, we can assert that the process of conversion to Christianity was only modestly advanced north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries.

4 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 23; Mitrea, *Așezarea*, 77.

5 Olteanu et al., "Structuri economice," 59.

6 Teodor, *Descoperiri arheologice*, 23.

Historically, the Carpathian-Danubian space was not only a transit territory for nomadic populations moving from the east to Central and Southeastern Europe, but also an active area of cultural and ethnic interference. Thus, the ethnic and cultural attribution of archaeological discoveries in this region presents a problem to solve of variable relevance and difficulty. The attempts of archaeologists and historians to evaluate early medieval archaeological discoveries from the cultural and ethnic points of view have been influenced by the contemporary situations in which they worked, as well as by political trends and interests, as archaeological discoveries have often been instrumentalized politically in order to justify territorial annexations and claims.

Archaeological discoveries dating from the eighth–ninth centuries in the Carpathian-Danubian space have conventionally been classified as belonging to several cultures according to their typologies. On one hand, this has been an attempt to show the regional peculiarities of archaeological cultures; on the other hand, it has sought to highlight their homogeneity and uniformity. However, in the context of addressing issues of continuity of habitation and of ethnogenesis, archaeological cultures began to be identified with certain population groups—the Romanic, the Slavs, the Avars, the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, the Romanians, and so on. The cultural identities of archaeological cultures are difficult to evaluate because they mainly reflect the material state of a society and not an ethnic condition. The characteristic features of certain categories of pieces, such as, for example, ceramics, may be relevant to ethnicity, but archaeologists cannot solve the problems of identity based solely on selected categories of material goods. Archaeological pieces highlight the material aspects of culture but not those related to the mentality, spirituality, or language of those who produced and used them.

It is also true that the concept of archaeological culture is much broader than its association with a specific ethnic identity. The more so as ethnic identities are constantly in flux. Therefore, interactions between the concepts of “archaeological culture” and “ethnic group” remain widely controversial in the contemporary specialized literature.⁷ Historiographical divergences on cultural concepts specific to the early Middle Ages are mainly linked to the chronological and ethnic framework of discoveries. In Transylvania, archaeological finds dating from the eighth–ninth centuries are concentrated in several cultural groups—the *Medias*, *Gambaș*, *Nușfalau*, *Blandiana*, *Ciumberud*, and *Cluj* groups. Most discoveries in Moldova, Wallachia, and (to some extent) Transylvania were integrated into Romanian historiography as the first stage (the *Hlincea* cultural phase) of *Dridu* culture, also known in the literature as *Balkan-Danubian*, *Carpathian-Danubian*, *Balkan-Carpathian*, or as the culture of the first Bulgarian Tsarat (Kingdom), and these are the options through which Romanian scholars sought to establish the area of distribution for these discoveries and even their ethnic attribution. In Soviet historiography, discoveries dating from the eighth–ninth centuries in the Prut-Dniester space were included in the *Luka Rajkoveckaja* culture, and some settlements from the central and southern parts of the interfluvium were attributed to the *Balkan-Danubian* (*Dridu*) culture. Dan Gh. Teodor argues that there are many differences between the *Hlincea* and *Luka*

⁷ Brather, “Etnische Identität”; Brather, *Ethnische Interpretationen*.

Rajkoveckaja cultures, and thus they cannot be considered a common cultural complex, with *Hlincea* culture being instead an aspect of Dridu culture.⁸

The problem of the ethnic attribution of Dridu culture launched lively discussions in the European historiography, without, however, a consensus being reached. Ethnic unity over such a vast territory as the north and south of the Danube, where the Dridu or Balkan-Danubian culture was spread, is hardly conceivable during the eighth–eleventh centuries. The more so as several regional variants of this culture have been distinguished north of the Danube.⁹ It would be premature to talk about a cultural, ethnic, and spiritual homogeneity and unity among the population north of the Lower Danube after the seventh century,¹⁰ as in the seventh–ninth centuries local society was strongly influenced by new population movements both from the West and from the East of Europe—the Avars, the Slavs, the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, and so on. The political and religious relations between the Byzantine Empire, the Avar Khaganate, the Carolingian State, Great Moravia, Bulgaria, the Hungarian, and Kievan Rus had a direct impact on the regions north of the Lower Danube during the seventh–tenth centuries.

The region's riches in subsoil sources, especially in salt, had been a matter of successive political contention between the Gepidae, the Slavs, the Bulgarians, and the Hungarians. During the Avar Khaganate, there were both Avar and Slavic population shifts from the west to the regions east of the Tisza. On the Banato-Crișana Plain and in Transylvania a number of new Avar and Slavic settlements appeared, along with cemeteries, which had a direct connection with the extraction and trade of salt. The disappearance of the Avar Khaganate caused new population movements and new confrontations over domination of the regions previously controlled by Avars; this was not a period of political tranquility and demographic stability as is extensively argued in Romanian historiography.¹¹ During the eighth–ninth centuries, the number of settlements in the Bukovina considerably increased, which, judging by the peculiarities of their material and spiritual culture, largely belonged to the Slavic cultural environment. The Bulgarians were the main beneficiaries of the collapse of Avar power in the areas of the Lower Danube. In the ninth century, the establishment of Bulgarian control over the regions north of the Danube caused the displacement of Roman and Slavic-Bulgarian communities from the south to the north of the river, proven by similarities in the material culture of settlements on both sides of the river.¹² In the second half of the ninth century, new movements of Slavic tribes into the Dniester regions have been demonstrated, a phenomenon that is made material in the regions of the Middle Dniester in the Alcedar-Echimăuți cultural type (during the tenth–eleventh centuries). The end of the ninth century marked new political changes in Europe through the arrival of the Hungarian on the Pannonian Plain. The crystallization of a cohesive society based on local economic, social, and political

8 Teodor, *Teritoriul est-carpatic*, 137, 138.

9 Spinei, *Moldova*, 84.

10 Olteanu et al., "Structuri politice," 98.

11 Pascu et al., "Dinamica structurilor," 144, 153.

12 Zaharia, *Săpăturile de la Dridu*, 147.

relations was quite difficult to realize in such a conjuncture. The process of cultural uniformization took place over a long time, and the pace and intensity of this phenomenon differed from one region to another.

The emergence of local political structures took place following the second half of the ninth century, a fact mentioned in some written sources. The uniformization of the material and spiritual culture north of the Lower Danube took place over a longer duration. The archaeological evidence, along with the emergence of written corroboration, first suggests the presence of an *integrated* society by the tenth–eleventh centuries, the period when the uniformization of the funerary rites of the Christian tradition and of the material culture known as *Dridu* occurred in most of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic regions.¹³ Also, the first mentions of the Romanians (the Vlachs, Blahs, and so on) appear in medieval written sources in this period, proving their emergence as a group of people in Europe.¹⁴

The regions of the Lower Danube became distinct cultural zones with a high degree of mobility throughout antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Cultural changes and mixtures thus occurred as a result of various phenomena and processes—migration, economic exchange, knowledge transfer, and so on. The assimilation of certain categories of objects or their production technologies did not, though, lead to their immediate cultural and ethnic assimilation. Therefore, the interaction between the population groups who inhabited or transited through the Carpathian-Danubian space in the eighth–ninth centuries assumes, first of all, a wide circulation of material goods. It is certain that the bearers of these goods belonged to particular population groups, but the appreciation of their ethnic belonging based only on archaeological evidence would be hypothetical and subjective. Therefore, we find that, during the sixth–ninth centuries, a series of changes in the demographic, ethnic, political, and social order took place in the Balkan-Danubian regions. The emergence and establishment of migratory populations in these regions did not lead to the total disappearance of the local populations of Romanic origin, but rather helped to diversify their ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Some local communities were forced to move into other regions themselves to escape the path of migrant groups, but others remained, under the power of newcomers who superimposed themselves over local communities rather like a military and social elite. Some of these elites were gradually assimilated by the more numerous communities over the centuries, as, for example, happened in the case of the Bulgarians.

In order to answer a number of questions regarding the inhabitants of the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space, it is necessary to publish the results of archaeological excavations, so as to enable separate analysis of every settlement and cemetery in detail and then to enable comparisons at the levels of micro- and macro-regions, thus to distinguish the peculiarities of the human habitat and to establish a better chronology and cultural framework for discoveries dating from the eighth–ninth centuries. Also,

13 Olteanu, *Societatea românească*, 17.

14 N. Stoicescu, *Continuitatea românilor. Privire istoriografică, istoricul problemei, dovezile continuității* (București, 1980), 182, also see n. 7.

the initiation of studies based on spatial analysis methods and historical demography is needed, as this would facilitate research into issues regarding the socio-economic organization and the population mobility of communities within early medieval society in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space, as well as aid us in explaining demographic phenomena with regard to the rapid growth in the number of settlements in the eighth–ninth centuries as compared to the fifth–seventh centuries. Simultaneously, multidisciplinary studies are needed in the areas of historical geography, geoarchaeology, archeometry, climatology, archaeozoology, anthropology, paleotology, paleoecology, dendrology, and so on, which, taken as a whole, would substantially enable a better understanding of historical reality north of the Lower Danube in the eighth–ninth centuries.

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Table 1 Archaeological records from Carpathian-Danubian region (eighth–ninth centuries).

No.	Site type	Total number
1.	Settlements	2101
2.	Hillforts	91
3.	Caves	11
4.	Cemeteries	221
5.	Singular graves	79
6.	Uncertain funerary goods	89
7.	Hoards	3
	Total	2595

Table 2 Funeral data records from Carpathian-Danubian region (eighth–ninth centuries).

No.	Site type	Total
1.	Singular graves	79
2.	Uncertain funerary goods	89
3.	Cemeteries	221
	Total	389

Table 3 The number of cemeteries based on funerary rites.

No.	Cemetery type	Total
1.	Incineration	26
2.	Biritual	21
3.	Inhumation (including 138 Avar cemeteries)	174
	Total	221

Table 4 The number of the graves from biritual cemeteries by regions and rites.

No.	Location	Incineration	Inhumation	Cenotaph	Dating
	Transylvania				
1.	Alba Iulia- <i>Stația de Salvare</i> , Alba county	4	over 1200		8-9
2.	Berghin- <i>În Peri</i> , Alba county	360	12		7-9
3.	Boartă- <i>Pârâul Zăpozii-Șoivan</i> , Sibiu county	33	2		8-9
4.	Bratei nr. 2— <i>Rădaie</i> , Sibiu county	210	34		7-9
5.	Ghirbom- <i>Gruitul Fierului</i> , Alba county	11	9		9-10
6.	Mediaș- <i>Dealul Furcilor</i> , Sibiu county	14	3		7-8
7.	Ocna Sibiului- <i>Lab</i> , Sibiu county	118 (120)	18 (15)		8-9
8.	Sibiu- <i>Guşterița-Fântâna Rece</i> , Sibiu county	79	1		8-9
9.	Sighișoara- <i>Dealul Viilor</i> , Mureș county	13	1		6-8
10.	Târnava- <i>Palamor</i> , Sibiu county	31	5		8-9
11.	Toarcia, Brașov county*	1	?		8-9
12.	Dăbâca, Cluj county*	16	?		8-9
	<i>Sub-total</i>	890	275		
	Wallachia				
13.	Obârșia Nouă- <i>Coada bălții</i> , Olt county	17	131		8-9
14.	Păuleasca, Teleorman county	250	2 (?)		9-10
15.	Izvoru- <i>Dealul poricolor</i> , Giurgiu county	100	344		7-9
16.	Frătești, Giurgiu county	16	23		8-9
17.	Sultana- <i>Mostiștea</i> , Călărași county	46	135	1	9-10

Table 4 (Cont.)

No.	Location	Incineration	Inhumation	Cenotaph	Dating
18.	Platonești, Ialomița county	62	10		8-10
19.	Sihleanu, Brăila county	74	5		8-9
	<i>Sub-total</i>	565	650		
	Moldova				
20.	Brănești, Orhei rayon	3	95		9-11
	<i>Sub-total</i>	3	95		
	Total	1458	830	1	

* In the literature are mentioned some biritual cemeteries (or few graves) without indicating the number of graves.

Table 5 The number of the graves from incineration cemeteries according to regions and rites.

No.	Location	Tumuli/Graves	Plane graves (funerary urns)	Dating
	Transylvania			
1.	Apahida, Cluj county	?*	-	8-9
2.	Baciu, Cluj county	-	1	8-9
3.	Bistrița, Bistrița-Năsăud county	-	2 (?)	8-9
4.	Irina, Satu Mare county	-	1 (?)	9-10
5.	Nușfalău, Sălaj county	170 (165) + 1 graves	-	8
6.	Petrisat-Valea Secoi, Alba county	-	?	7-8
7.	Porumbenii Mici-Galath, Harghita county	-	?	7-8
8.	Someșeni, Cluj county	8	?	8
9.	Soporu de Câmpie-Poderei, Cluj county	-	13 (14)?	9
10.	Soporu de Câmpie-Răzoare, Cluj county	-	2	8-9
11.	Turdaș-Valea Clociță, Alba county	-	18	7-8
12.	Uioara de Jos-Pârloage, Alba county	-	42 (?)	8-9
	Wallachia			
13.	Bistreț-Dănilă, Dolj county	-	1	8-9
14.	Dorobanțu, Călărași county	-	1 (?)	9-10
15.	Ostrovu Mare, Mehedinți county	-	3	7-8
	Moldova			
16.	Alcedar, Rezina rayon	11 (34) tumuli 254 graves	-	9-10
17.	Belaja- <i>Carina</i> , Cernivcy region	-	2	9
18.	Cobusca Veche, Anenii Noi rayon	-	14 (?)	8-9

Table 5 (Cont.)

No.	Location	Tumuli/Graves	Plane graves (funerary urns)	Dating
19.	Galați-Valea lui Tuluc, Galați county	-	1	9–10
20.	Černovka, Cernivcy region	10 (100) tumuli	-	9–10
21.	Chiscani, Brăila county	-	54	8–9
22.	Gorišnie Širovcy, Cernivcy region	1 (3) tumuli	-	9–10
23.	Halta Dodești- <i>CFR Dodești</i> , Vaslui county	-	1	8–9
24.	Revno, Cernivcy region	-	54	9–10
25.	Roșiești- <i>Gară</i> , Vaslui county	-	?	9–10
26.	Șendreni-Pepenieră, Galați county	-	?	9–10
27.	Tichilești, Brăila county	-	90 (96)	8–9
28.	Vinețești-Cordeni-Popești, Vaslui county	-	2 (100–200) ?	8–9

* In the literature are mentioned some cemeteries (or few graves) without indicating the number of graves.

Table 6 Recorded coins and hoards from Carpathian-Danubian region (eighth–ninth centuries).

No.	Category/origins	Singular	Hoard	Total
1.	Arabic	25	26	51
2.	Byzantine	92	25	117
3.	Western European	21	-	21
	Total	138	51	189

Table 7 Record of the Arabic coins (eighth–ninth centuries).

No.	Place	No/ Metal	Nominal	Calif Abbāsīzi	Emir Sāmānīzi	Mints	Dating
1.	Alcedar	1 AE 1 Ag	fals dirham		1. Nasr II Ibn-Ahmed (914–943) 1. Abdulah ibn Mikhail (947/948)	Tashkent Suvar-Bulgar	914–943 947–948
2.	Ásotthalom-Rívó	1 Ag	dirham		ISMĀĪL B. AHMED (279/295 H= 892–907)	Balkh	293 H (=905/ 906)
3.	Bosia	2AE	fals	MARWAN AL II- LEA (745–750)			
4.	Echimāuți	19Ag	dirham		ISMAIL IBN-AHMED: 1Ag, 903–904, 1Ag, 905–906, 2Ag, 892–907 AHMED IBN-ISMAIL: 1Ag, 908–909 NASR II IBN-AHMAD: 3 Ag, 925–926, 933–934, 914–943; 2 Ag, 926–927, 914–943; 7 Ag, imitații, 914–943; 2 Ag, nedeterminate	Samar'kand Samar'kand Samar'kand Samar'kand Balkh	
5.	Eger-Almagyar	1 Ag	dirham		ISMĀĪL B. AHMED (279/295 H = 892–907)		
6.	Iacobeni	1 Ag	dirham		ABUD AD-DAUDA (949–983)	Fars	(949–983)
7.	Irižac	1Au	dīnār	AL-MANSUR (754–775)		Baghdad	762–775

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Place	No/ Metal	Nominal	Calif Abbāsīzi	Emir Sāmānīzi	Mints	Dating
8.	Karos-Eperjesszög	1Ag	dirham	ABU'K-'ABBAĀS AHMED B. MUHAMMED AL-MUSTAĪN (248/252 H = 862-866)			250/251 H (= 864/866)
9.	Karos-Eperjesszög	1Ag	dirham		ISMĀĪL B. AHMED (279/295 H = 892-907)		393 H (= 905/ 906)
10.	Kecskemét- Orgovány	1Ag	dirham		ISMĀĪL B. AHMED (279/295 H = 892-907)	Shāsh	?
11.	Kenézlő- Fazekaszug	2Ag	dirham		ISMĀĪL B. AHMED (279-295 H = 892-907),	Shāsh	290 H (= 902/ 903) 291H (= 903/ 904)
12.	Kenézlő- Fazekaszug	1Ag	dirham		ISMĀĪL B. AHMED (279-295 H = 892-907)		
13.	Kisdobra- Ligahomok	1 Ag	dirham	ABU'L-'ABBĀS AHMED B. TALHA AL-MU'TADID BI'LLAH (279- 289 H = 892-902)		San'a'	
14.	Kisdobra- Ligahomok	4 Ag	dirham		ISMĀĪL B. AHMED (279-295 H = 892-907)	Shāsh	280 H (= 893/ 894-901/902) 293 H (= 902/ 903-907)

Table 7 (Cont.)

No.	Place	No/ Metal	Nominal	Calif Abbāsīzi	Emir Sāmānīzi	Mints	Dating
15.	Maghīc	1		MUSA AL HADI (785-787)		Baghdad	
16.	Rādūcāneni	7Ag	dirham	1 AL-MANSUR (754-775) 1 AL-MAHDĪ (775-785) 5 HARUN AL RASĪD (786-809)			
17.	Sárospatak- Baksahomok	1Ag	dirham		ISMĀĪL B. AHMED (279-295 H = 892-907)	Samarḳand	288 H (= 900/ 901)
18.	Sárospatak- Baksahomok	2Ag	dirham		ISMĀĪL B. AHMED (279-295 H = 892-907)	Andarāba	295 H (= 907/ 908)
19.	Şcheia	1Ag	dirham	?		?	?
20.	Serbia	1 Au	dīnār	AL-MANSUR (754-775)		Baghdad	762-775
21.	Total	51					

Table 8 The Byzantine coinage from Carpathian-Danubian region (eighth–ninth centuries).

No.	Emperor	No. years	No. coins			Coefficient coins/year
			AE	AR	AV	
1.	Tiberius III (698–705)	6,5 years	3	-	-	0,5
2.	Justinian II (705–711)	6 ¼ years	1	-	-	0,16
3.	Philippics (711–713)	1 years and 7 months	-	-	-	0
4.	Anastasias II (713–715)	2 years	-	-	1	0,5
5.	Theodosius III (715–717)	2 years	-	-	-	0
6.	<i>Sub-total</i> stage I		4		1	
7.	Leon III (717–741)	24 years and 2 months	3	-	-	0,08
8.	Constantine V (741–775)	34 years and 2 months	1	1	1	0,09
9.	Leon IV (775–780)	1 years and 4 months	-	-	-	0
10.	Constantine VI and Iren (780–797)	16 years and 11 months	-	-	-	0
11.	Iren (797–802)	5 years and 2 months	-	-	-	0
	<i>Sub-total</i> stage II		4	1	1	
12.	Nicephor I (802–811)	8 years and 8 months	1	-	-	0,12
13.	Stauracius (07–10. 811)	2 months	-	-	-	0
14.	Mikhail I (811–813)	1 year and 9 months	-	-	-	0
15.	Leon V (813–820)	7 years and 5 months	-	-	1	0,14
16.	Mikhail II (820–829)	8 years and 9 months	1	-	1	0,25
17.	Theophil (829–842)	12 years and 3 months	10	-	8	1,5
18.	Mikhail III (842–867)	25 years and 8 months	1	-	1	0,08
19.	Basil I (867–886)	18 years and 11 months	5	4	7	0,88
20.	Leon VI (886–912)	25 years and 8 months	37	2	2	1,64
21.	<i>Sub-total</i> stage III		55	6	20	
	Total		63	7	22	
			92			

Table 9 The structure of Hoard Cleja, Bacău county, Romania.

Emperors	Leon V Constantine (813-820)	Mikhail II Theophil (812-829)	Theophil (829-842)	Theophil, Mikhail II, Constantine (832-839)	Basil I (867-886)	Basil I Constantine (869-879)	Leon VI (886-912)	Leon VI Alexander (886-912)	Constantine VII, Zoe (913-919)	Roman I (919-921)	Constantine VII (945)
Metal	1AE	1AE	2AE	1AE	2AE	1AR 6AE	11AE	3AE	1AE	7AE	3AE
Typology	BMC II, 412, 22	BMC II, 417, 20	BMC II, 422, 15; 426, 44	BMC II, 427, 49	BMC II; 438, 8	BMC II, 438, 6, 439, 11; 440, 18	BMC II, 447, 8	BMC II, 447, 11	BMC II, 452, 2	BMC II, 455, 14, 15; 456, 19	BMC II, 463, 45, 52, 53

Bibliography: Dimian 1957, 198-99; Mitrea I. 1972, 122; Preda 1972, 399; Căpitanu 1971, 260; Mitrea I. 1979, 148; Butnariu 1981-1982, 169; Chiriac 1991, 377; Teodor 1997, 68, nr. 181; Langu 2003, 25-26; Langu 2005, 50.

Table 10 (Cont.)

No.	Place	Nominal	Mint	Tiberius III (689-705)	Justinian II (705-711)	Anastasias II (713-715)	Leon III (717-741)	Constantine V (741-775)	Nicephor I (803-811)	Leon V (813-820)	Mikhail II (820-829)	Theophil (829-842)	Mikhail III (842-867)	Basil I (867-886)	Leon VI (886-912)	Total
15.	Füle	solidus	Constantinople									1AV				1
16.	Găvănoasa	solidus	Constantinople										1AV			1
17.	Gugești	follis	Constantinople												1AE	1
18.	Hunedoara	follis	Constantinople												1AE	1
19.	Jánoshalma	solidus	Constantinople									1AV				1
20.	Kiskunfélegyháza	solidus	Constantinople								1AV	2AV				3
21.	Mediș	follis	Constantinople	1AE												1
22.	Nagykecsza	follis	Constantinople												1AE	1
23.	Orșova	follis	Constantinople											1AV	1AE	2
24.	Ostrovul Banului	follis	Constantinople												1AE	1
25.	Ószöny	solidus	Constantinople			1AV										1
26.	Pálmonostora	solidus	Constantinople									1AV				1
27.	Pázmánd	follis/solidus	Constantinople							1AV						2

Table 10 (Cont.)

No.	Place	Nominal	Mint	Tiberius III (689-705)	Justinian II (705-711)	Anastasias II (713-715)	Leon III (717-741)	Constantine V (741-775)	Nicephor I (803-811)	Leon V (813-820)	Mikhail II (820-829)	Theophilus (829-842)	Mikhail III (842-867)	Basil I (867-886)	Leon VI (886-912)	Total	
51.	Zorleni	follis	Constantinople												1AE	1	
52.	Loc necunoscut (România)	follis/solidus	Constantinople Chersoneses				1AE					3AE		2AV 1AE 2AE	9AE	16	
53.	Loc necunoscut (Moldova)	follis	Constantinople												2AE	2	
54.	Loc necunoscut (Hungary)	solidus/ follis/ miliarsion									1AE	1AV	1AE	1AV 3AR 2AE	1AV 1AR 8AE	22	
	TOTAL	solidus miliarsion follis		- - 3AE	1AV - 1AE	1AV - - 3AE	- - 3AE	1AV - 1AE	- - 1AE	1AV - 1AE	1AV - - 1AE	8AV - 10AE	1AV - 18	1AV - 1AE	7AV 4AR 5AE	2AV 2AR 37AE	22AV 7AR 63AE
				3	1	1	3	3	1	1	2	2	2	16	41	92	

AE—bronze; AU—gold; AR—silver.

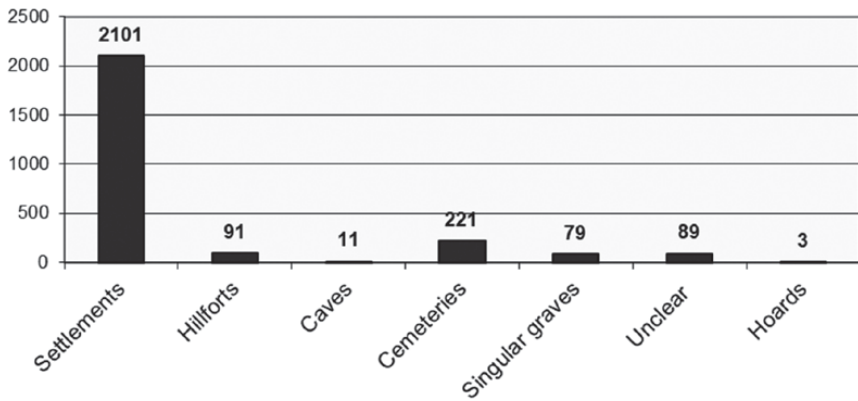


Chart 1 Distribution of archaeological sites from the eighth-ninth centuries.

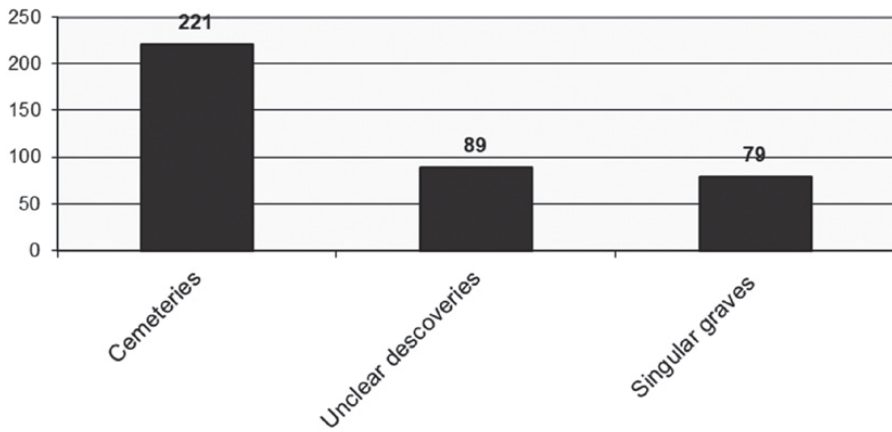


Chart 2 Distribution of funerary records (sites) from the eighth-ninth centuries.

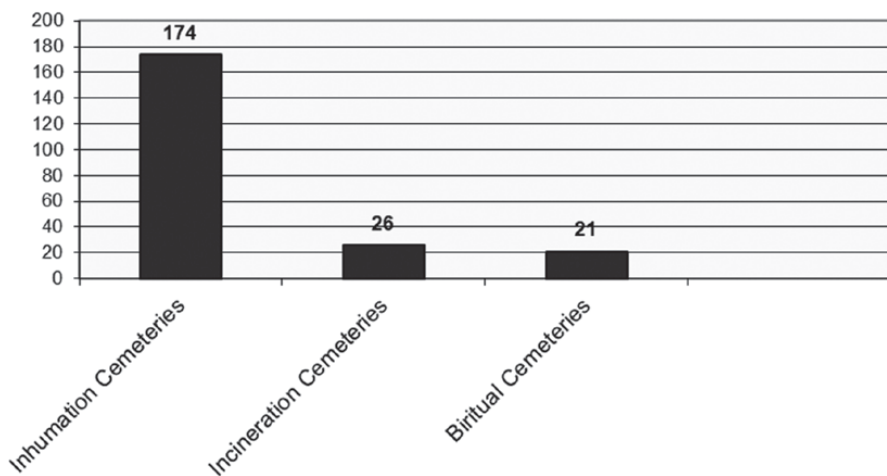


Chart 3 The number of cemeteries according to rites.

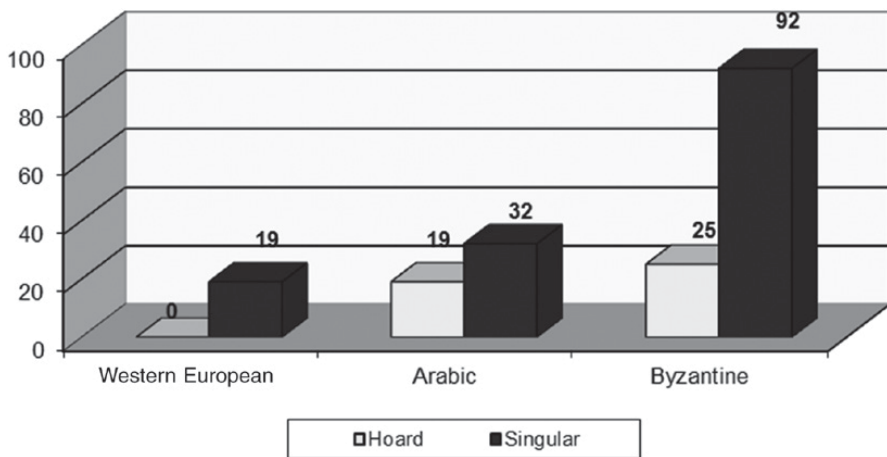


Chart 4 Distribution of the coins according to origins.

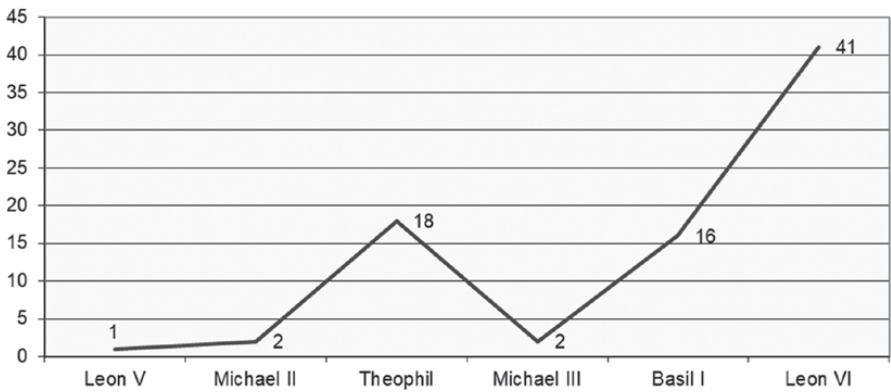
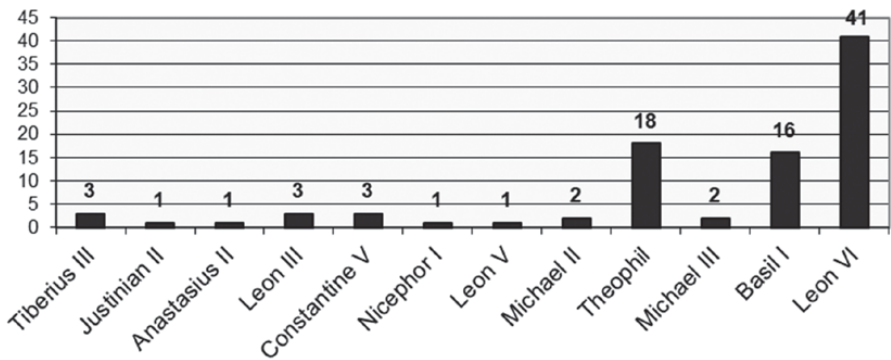


Chart 5 Distribution of the Byzantine coins according to emperors.

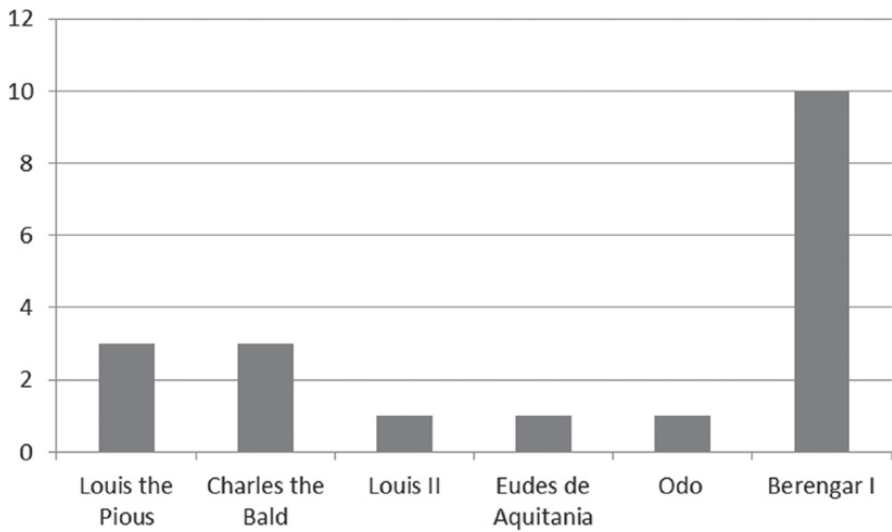


Chart 6 Distribution of the Western European coins according to rulers.

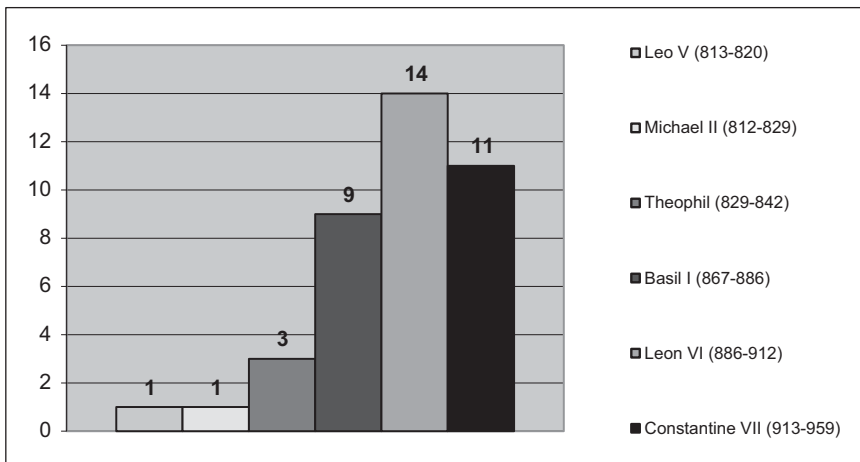
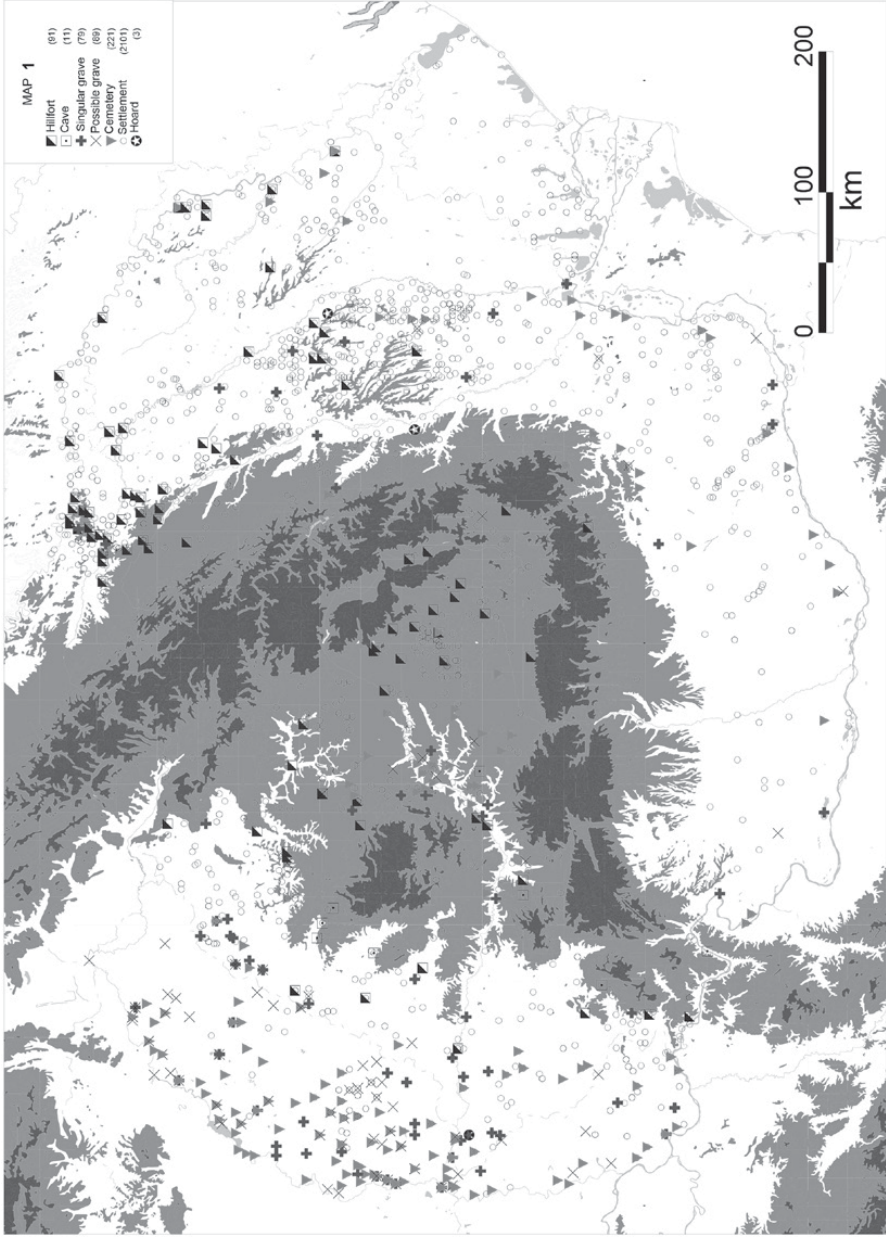


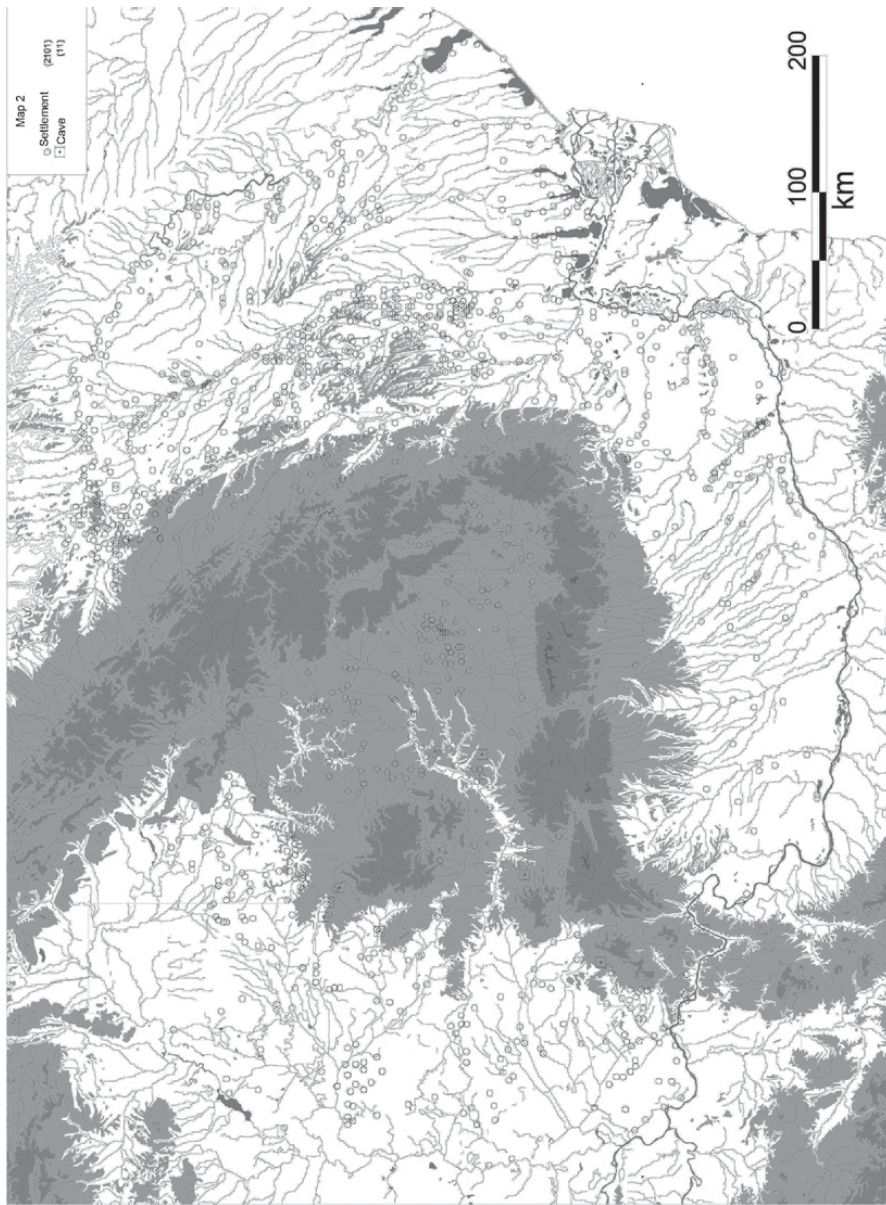
Chart 7 Distribution of the Byzantine coins from the Cleja Hoard.



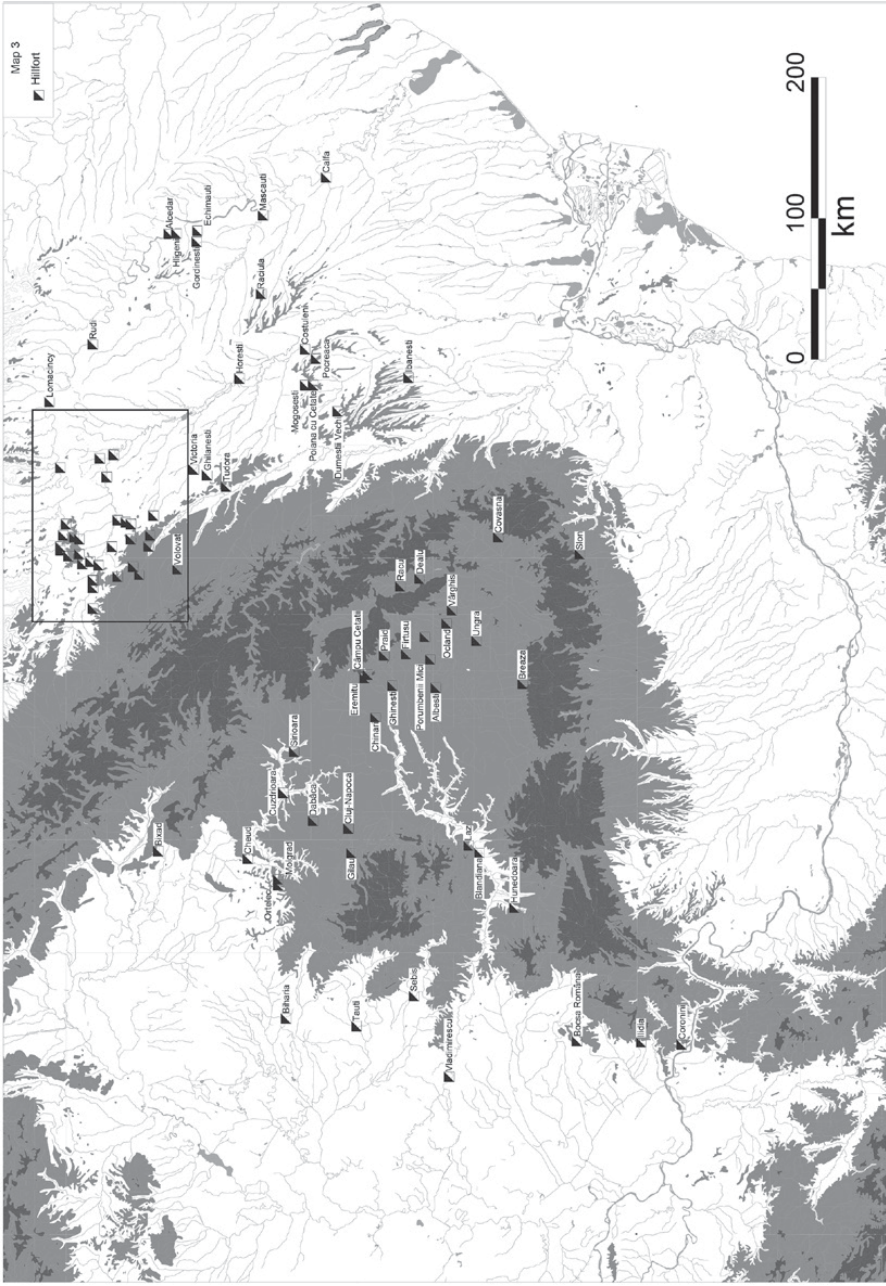
Map 1 The research area.



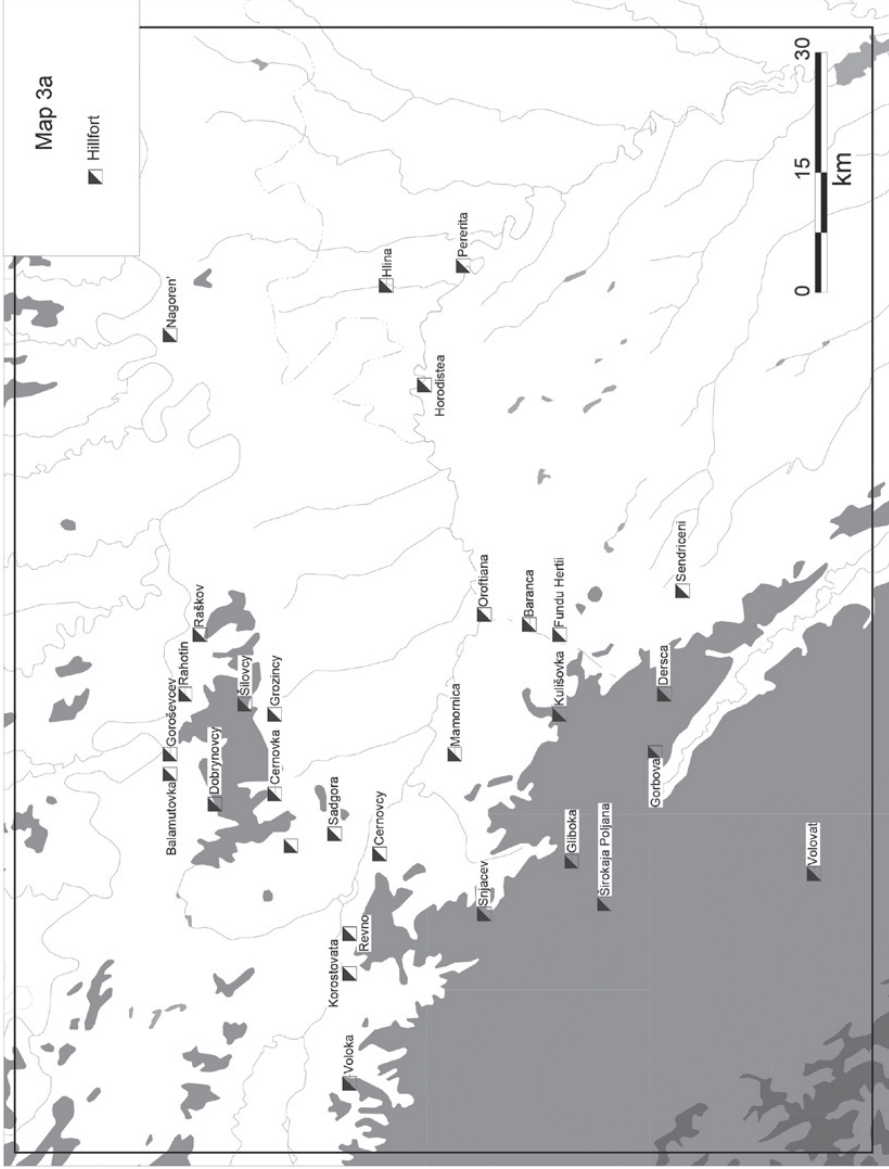
Map 2 Map of the eighth–ninth-century sites.



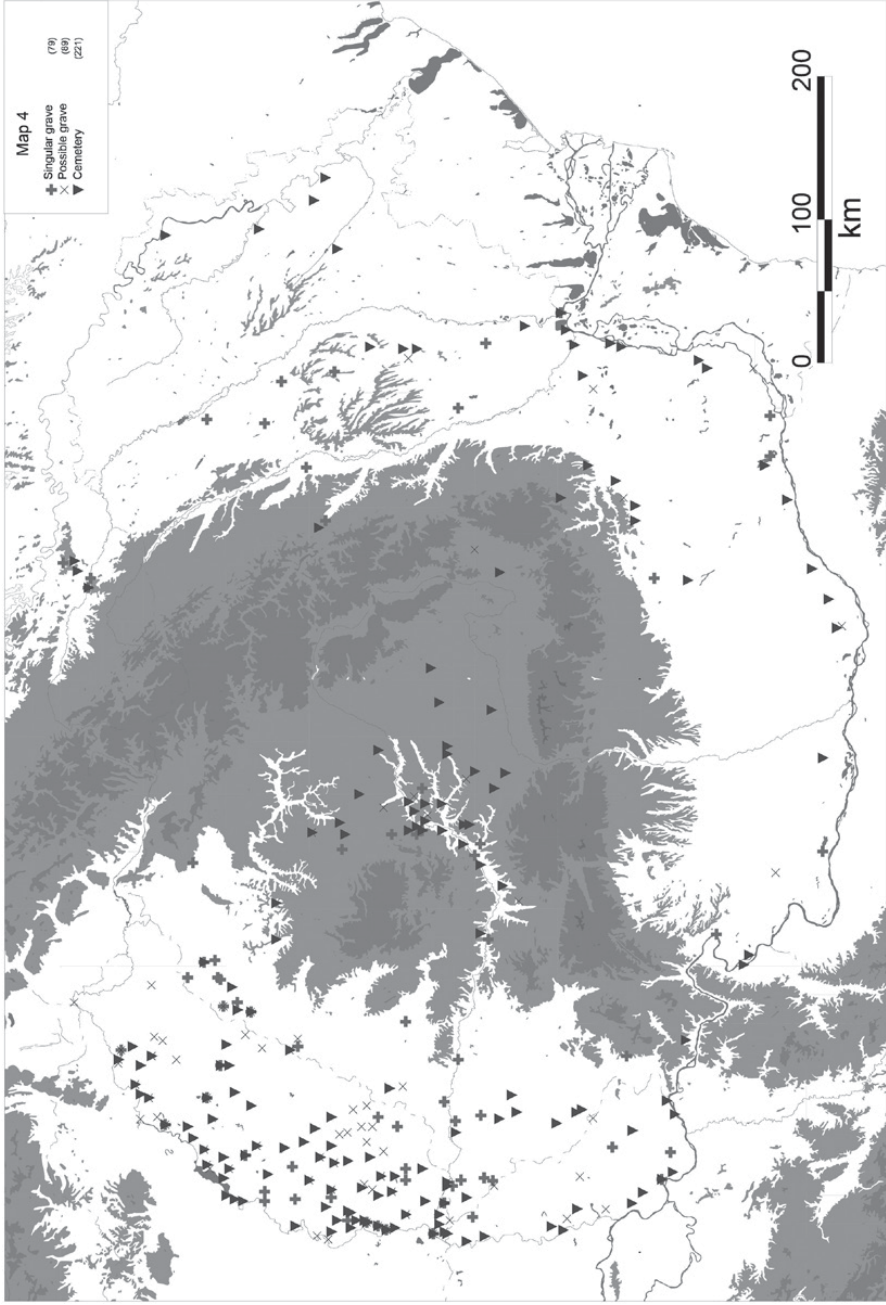
Map 3 Settlements from the eighth–ninth centuries.



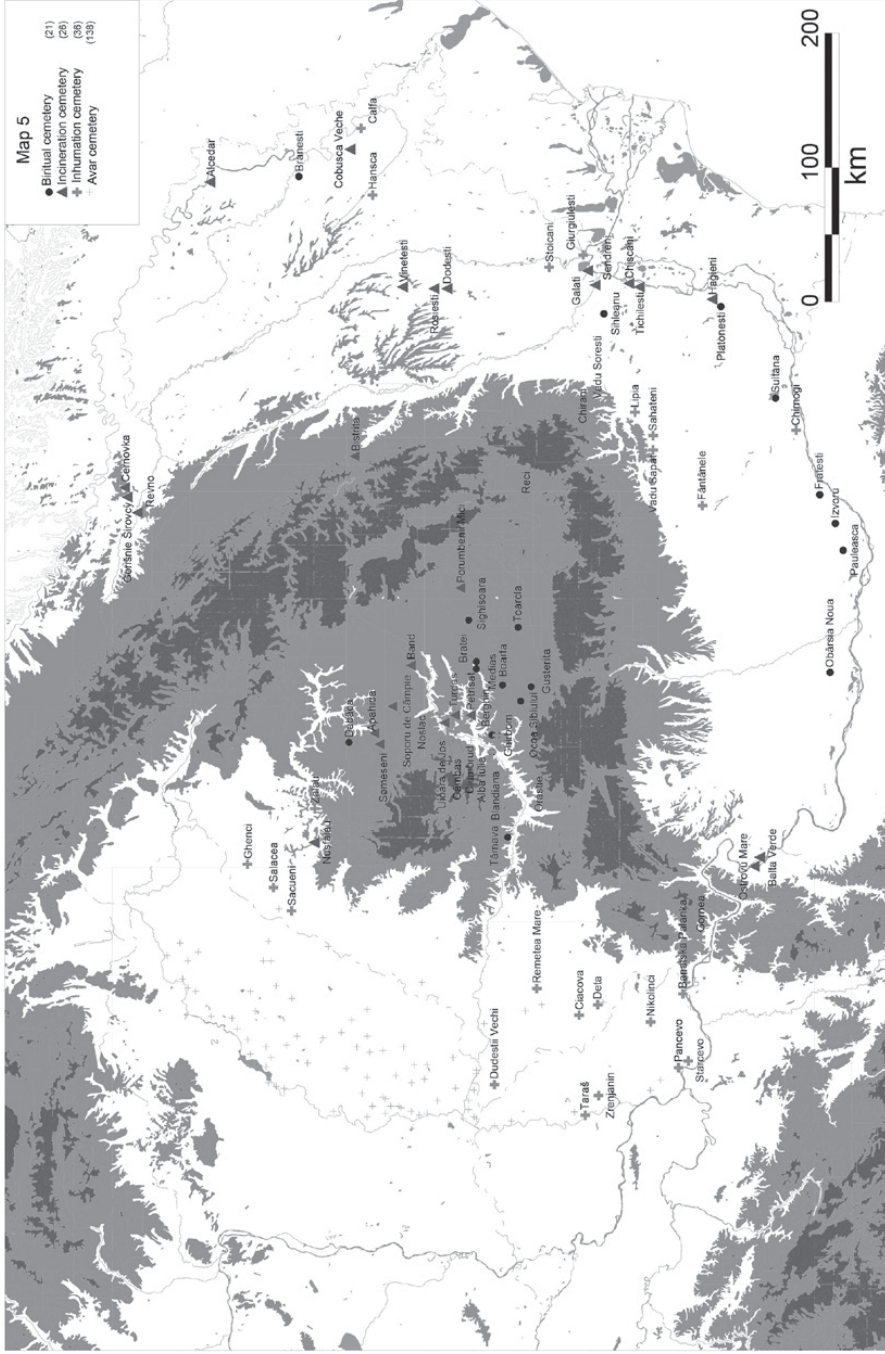
Map 4 & 4a Hillforts from the eighth–ninth centuries.



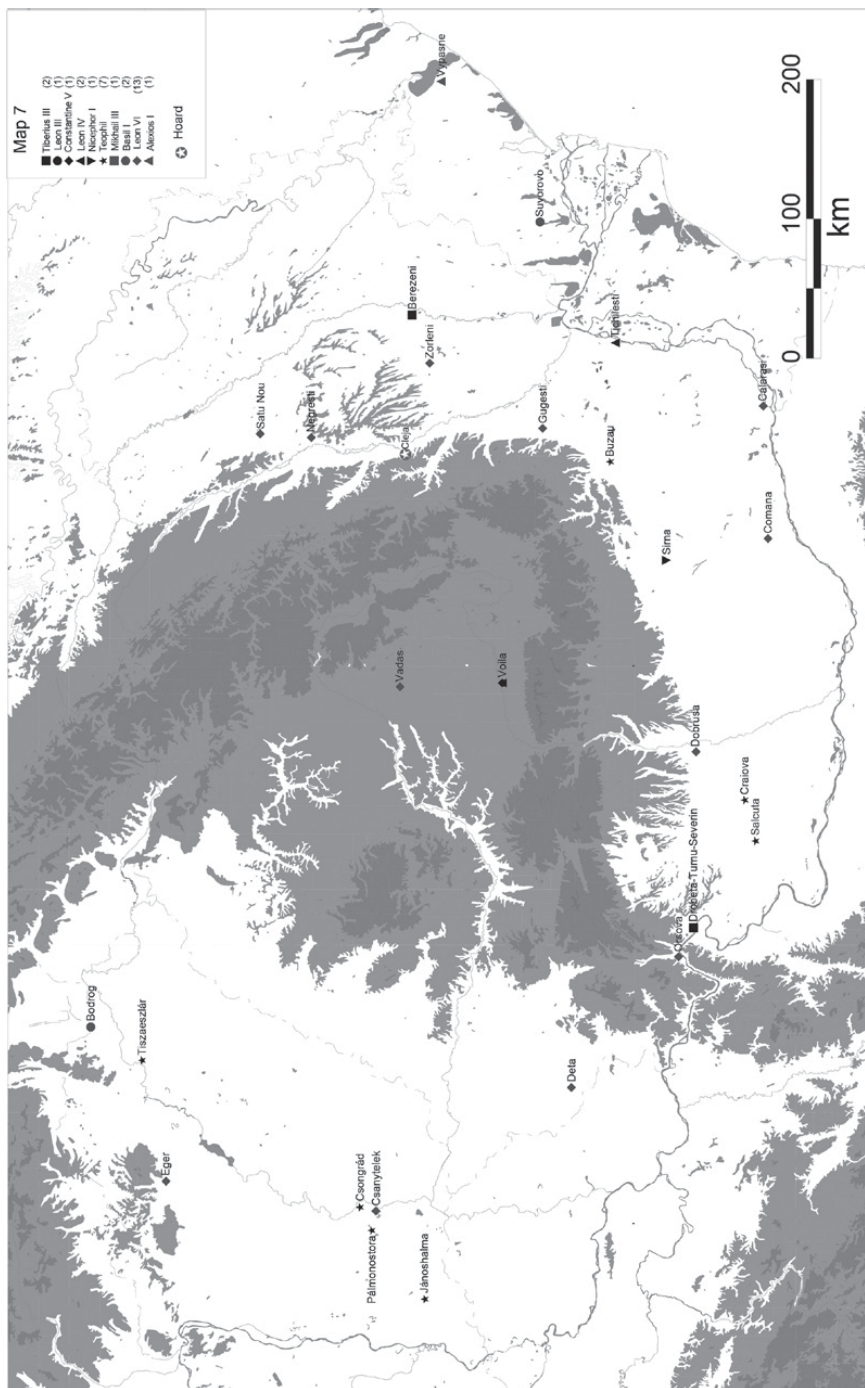
Map 4 & 4a (Cont.)



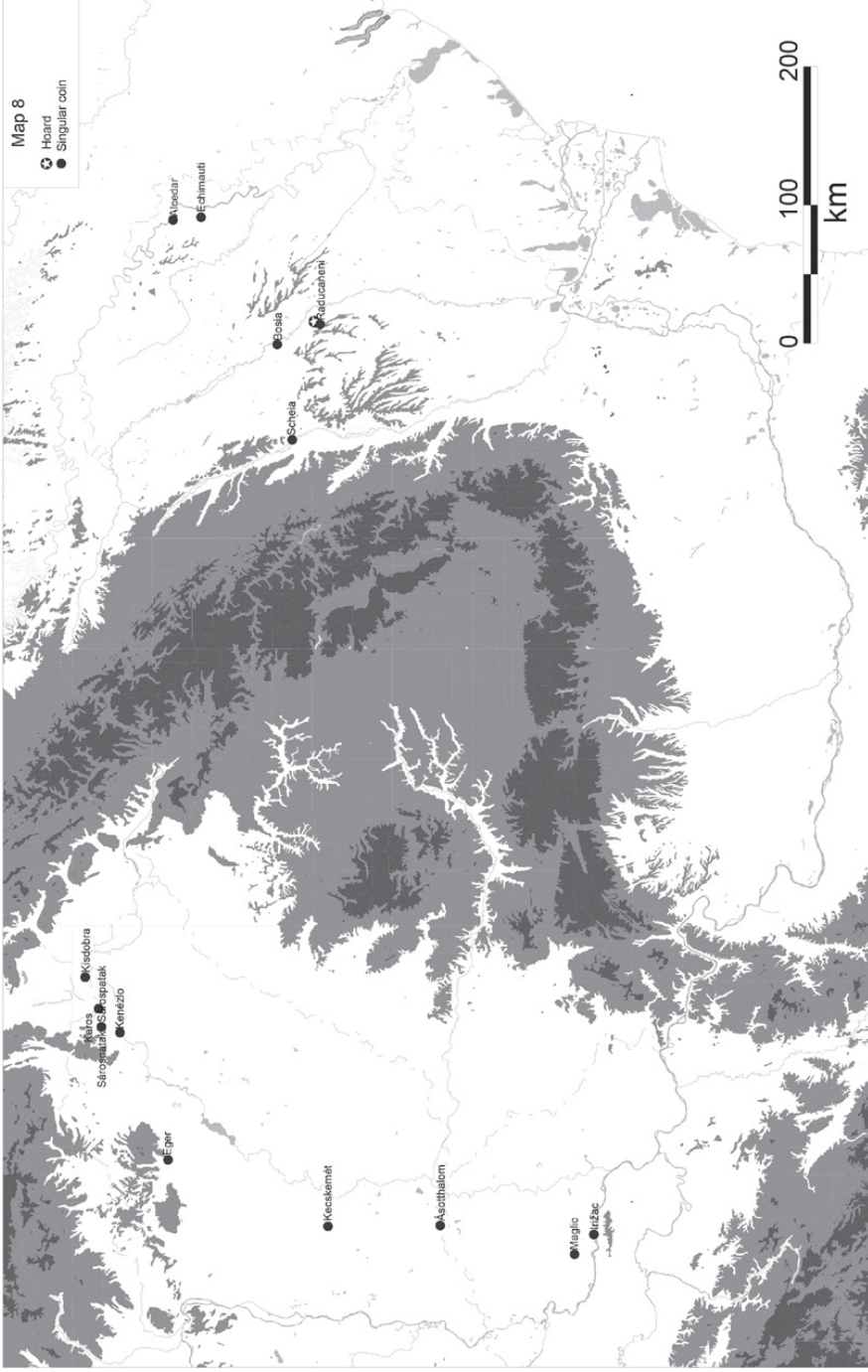
Map 5 General map of funerary records from the eighth–ninth centuries.



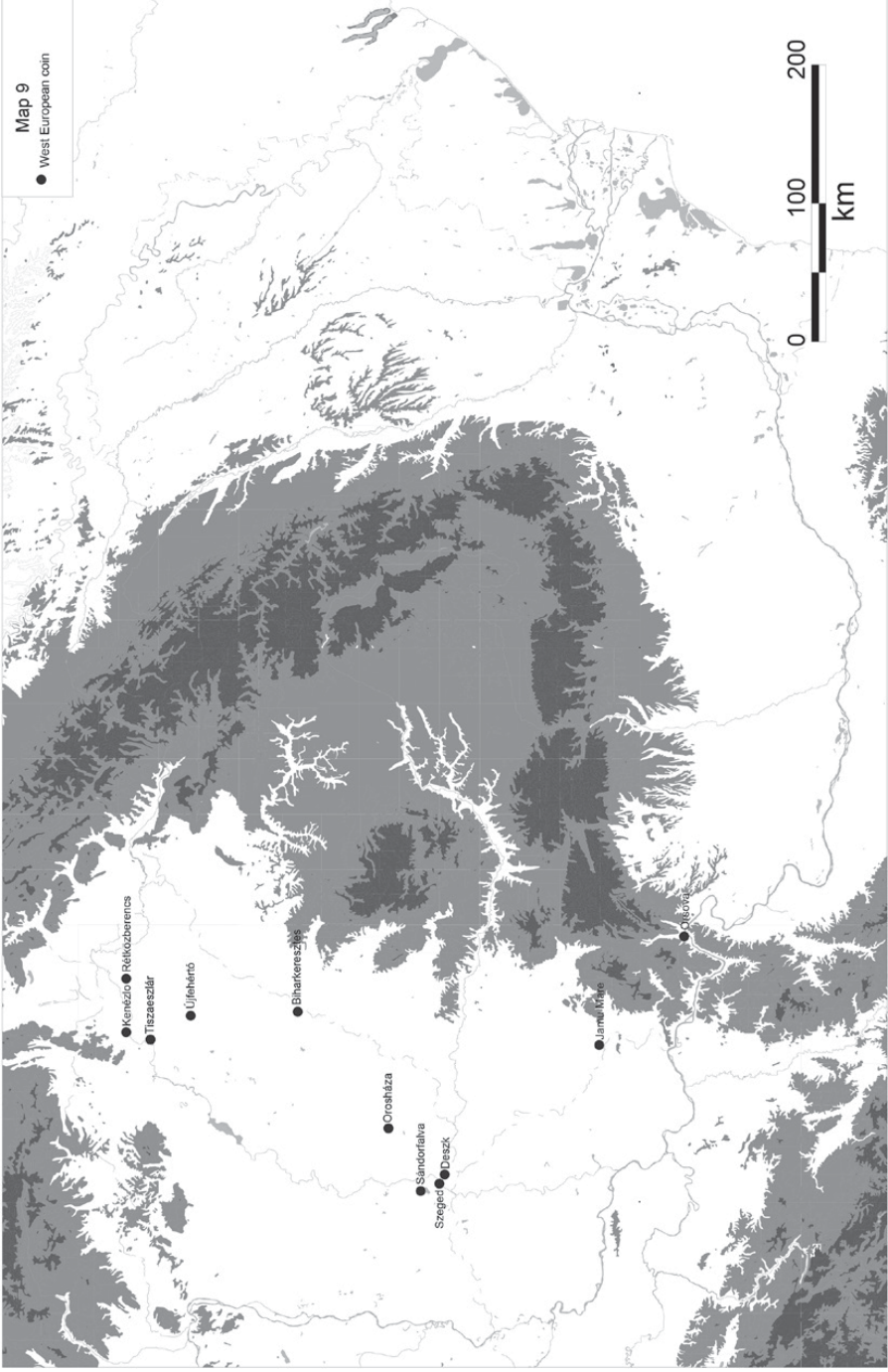
Map 6 Map of cemeteries records from the eighth-ninth centuries.



Map 8 Map of Byzantine coins from the eighth–ninth centuries.



Map 9 Map of Arabic coins and hoards from the eighth–ninth centuries.



Map 10 Map of the Western European coins from the eighth-ninth centuries.

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